

INSIDE: A glimpse of gold in Prague

Maclean's

MAY 13, 1985

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.50

The Ontario Election

FIGHTING BACK

**Liberal Leader
David Peterson
and wife, Shelley**

**A Liberal upsurge
leaves the Tories
on a tightrope**

**A message to
the nation**





"I'm glad we waited."

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COVER

The Ontario election

Resurgent Liberals under businessman leader David Peterson won the popular vote and almost ended a 40-year Conservative dynasty in an Ontario election that reduced Premier Frank Miller's Conservatives to minority status, clinging to power by a handful of seats. The Liberal campaign sent a message to politicians across the nation. —Page 19

PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE



Bombardier's rapid rise

Known to Canadians as a maker of snowmobiles, Maclean's Bombardier Inc. is mounting a successful export drive to sell mass-transit vehicles to the world. —Page 22



A new underground railroad

Canada and the United States have been braves of hope to victims of oppression, but the two countries have different views on Central American refugees. —Page 42



Compromise language

The economic summit in Bonn was largely overshadowed by American President Ronald Reagan's controversial visit to a German war cemetery. —Page 22



A glimpse of gold

Canada's "Team Forgotten" shocked the champion Soviets and almost lost the Canucks for the gold in the world hockey tournament in Prague. —Page 40

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Altered states

Last week was an uncertain one for both Ottawa Editor Ray MacGregor and Senior Writer Mary Jangnap. In MacGregor's case, he flew to Europe with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his wife, Milla, to cover their official visit to Britain and went on to Bonn to report on the economic summit. Then, the Canadiana hockey team stopped sports fans by upsetting the Soviets in the World Cup tournament in Prague and had only to beat the Czechs last Friday to become world champions. Assistant Manager Editor Carl Mellins and Foreign Editor Michael Pomer quickly decided that MacGregor, a sports addict, should try to skem an entry visa to Czechoslovakia.

Against the odds, MacGregor managed to do just that—in time to report the Canadiana's 5-to-3 loss, winning the second-place silver medal instead of the gold. "I had been so preoccupied with the intricacies of religion, dietetics and economic indicators in Bonn," said MacGregor, "that I took a while to concentrate on scoring records and hat tricks. Still, I struggled through."

For Jangnap, covering the Ontario election was equally jarring. She knew that, depending on the outcome, the week-end rap writing a two-page article or a full-fledged cover story. Fortunately for her, she became convinced early in the week that the Liberals were about to make a major advance, propelling well in advance for writing the story as Friday Reported Journal. "For Conservatives across the nation, it was a clear signal that the Liberal party is again becoming a strong political force."

Karin Doyle

Maclean's May 13, 1990

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Expedient beliefs

—JOHN LOWMAN, PhD,
Barnes & C

As one who has annually pumped my subscription across the U.S. border in support of the Public Broadcasting System, I applaud George Bain's thoughtful piece on the CBC problem ("Doing less can be the better way," Media Watch, April 22). Like Sam, I feel that some of that CBC budget could be usefully and

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1999



Keywords: *prosthesis; limb; prosthetic; limb; prosthetic*

played is the acquisition of some of those expert British and Australian productions. I would gladly re-state my U.S. film support to the CMC to aid in this endeavor. The CMC should be freed of all commercial taint, it is PBS, and to achieve it let private subscriptions augment the Federal tax dollars that are under understandable restraint.

Debra J.C.

Allen Fotheringham's superb April 22 column, "The new and impossible trivia," has worked wonders for The Post (see *Le Post*). We have been overwhelmed with requests from tourists and residents, all of whom want to spend a weekend in our suburb. When our new subdivision is started later this year we intend to ask Fotheringham to be present at the ground-breaking ceremony. I hope he will not accept to furnish or subsidize our gracious offer. —A CHURCH Member.

Maclean's is advertising an opening in Toronto for the position of senior writer. Previous newspaper writing experience is essential. Applications and résumés should be mailed to Kevin Doyle, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7. This advertisement appears at the instruction of Employment and Immigration Canada.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean's Hunter Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

ORD Canadian tourism advocate and former publisher of *Maclean's*, **Gerald Brander**, 64, of Toronto, died of cancer at his cottage near Gravenhurst, Ont. Brander, who joined Maclean's in 1946, worked as the audit department and held several positions before he became publisher of *Maclean's* in 1969, retired from publishing in 1970. Brander's business as *Maclean's* founder developed an interest in Canadian tourism and launched the first Explore Canada promotions, which were later adopted by the Canadian government office of tourism. The board of directors of the Tourism Industry Association of Canada appointed Brander as its first paid president in 1975. He resigned in 1980.

DIED Montreal-born Max Aitken, whose father, publishing tycoon Lord Beaverbrook, gave him two newspapers on his 21st birthday; at his home in London, England. A decorated fighter pilot during the Second World War, Aitken held a Conservative seat in the British parliament from 1945 to 1950 and, when his father died in 1964, took over Express Newspapers, Lord Beaverbrook's publishing empire, which included the *Daily Express* and London's *Evening Standard*.

STEPPING DOWN: Montreal lawyer Eric Mallof, 34, from his position as president of Alliance Quebec, the province's largest English-language rights organization, on May 11. Mallof was elected to the unexpired position in 1992. During Mallof's presidency Alliance Quebec lobbied for changes in the province's pro-French-language charter, Bill 101, and financed five Montreal merchants in their successful legal challenge of the law which permitted only French-language signs in the province.

HONORED Robert Weaver, 64, former executive producer of CBC Radio's *Anthology* series, whose job was declared redundant when the corporation announced budget cuts last December, with the first annual Robert Weaver Award, by the National Radio Producers' Association, at a ceremony in Toronto. The association, which established the award to honor significant contributions to CBC Radio, presented Weaver with an antique radio.

SENTENCED Thomas Brigham, 65, of Rochester, N. Y., to life imprisonment after being convicted by a Quebec Superior Court jury on three counts of first-degree murder in the bombing of Montreal Central Station last Sept. 3. Brigham prophesied the second coming of Our Lady of Fatima "on a high-speed express train" and said he would appear

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FOLLOW-UP

New records in disc sales

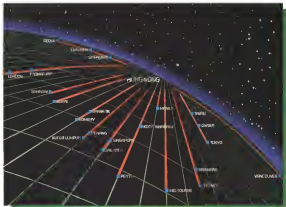
They were hailed in 1979 as the greatest innovation in sound reproduction since the invention of stereo. But only recently have compact discs finally begun to play their music to the masses. Since Christmas, sales of the shiny, glass-and-metal discs have skyrocketed; industry analysts predict that more than 30 million discs will be sold worldwide in 1985, doubling last year's figure. In Canada, some record stores report that disc sales have tripled, with popular titles such as the sound track of the film *Amadeus* selling almost as fast as they can be stocked. Basil Bortolotti, general manager of Toronto-based Polygram Inc., Canada's country's largest supplier of the discs "in one week we sold more compact discs than all last year."

What sparked the boom was the lowering of prices on disc players last fall. Machines that cost \$1,500 two years ago now start at \$200, the price of a good standard turntable. But if the price that stimulates consumer interest, it is sound quality that convinces them to buy. The music, digitally recorded on the disc and read by the player's laser beam, is free of the distortion and stylus wear that plague normal LPs. The clarity of some passages of classical music is such that a listener can hear the conductor turning a page of the score.

One of the disc's drawbacks is cost—prices can range as high as \$20.99, compared with 12s, which usually cost less than \$10. But the main problem is simply supply. There are only 16 manufacturing plants in the world—six of them in Japan—all scrambling to fill the burgeoning list of orders. (An 11th, owned by the Canadian firm Proton Technologies Inc., plans to start production in Toronto early in 1986.) As well, of the 2,800 disc titles available in Canada (compared with 50,000 record titles), many are re-releases made from conventionally recorded master tapes and do not offer the advantage of the compact disc's sound stage.

As a result, it is unlikely that compact discs will bring the immediate demise of the vinyl record. "Obviously, anyone with a vast record collection is not going to get it in the garbage," said Maurice Hultine, editor of the Toronto-based consumer magazine *Stereo Guide*. But, he added, "Quite definitely the compact disc is here to stay." To hear one is to believe him.

—PETER GIFFIN



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Trials of a star witness

The grim questions hit Dick Collier, the former leader of the Saskatchewan Progressive Conservatives, at an awkward moment. On Oct. 28, 1994, during a visit to Saskatoon, he was sitting on a lounge table at the local 1800s when two police officers entered and asked him if he knew anything

about the murder of Julian Wilson. Wilson was the ex-wife of Collier's former friend and political colleague, Colin Thatcher. Eight days later, Collier told a hushed courtroom that four years before, Thatcher had asked him repeatedly to find a hit man to kill Wilson. Indeed, according to observers at the

trial, his description of Thatcher referring to Wilson—in front of the couple's two sons—as the "bitch" helped win a guilty verdict. Reaching the trial, Collier told Maclean's "Once approached I had to testify. It was as if God was telling me to do it."

Still, Collier, now a businessman in Phoenix, Ariz., says he is disappointed that his role in a sensational trial has come to overshadow his political accomplishments. Collier is proud that as leader of the Saskatchewan Progressive Conservatives from 1953 to 1979 he rescued the party from near-obscure. A champion of free enterprise, he frequently criticized socialism and earned a reputation as a right winger. After he quit the Tories he went on to win even more notoriety in 1980 when he founded the short-lived Unionist Party, a fringe Western separatist party which promoted union with the United States. But by the time he emigrated to Arizona one year later, the party and Collier had all but disappeared from the political scene. Looking back, Collier told Maclean's recently, "It seems the two things I am known for are testifying at the Thatcher trial and starting the Unionist Party."

When Collier won the leadership of the provincial PCs in 1979, he inherited a party that had only garnered two per cent of the vote in the previous provincial election, losing to the NFP. But Collier enticed disaffected Liberals—including Thatcher—to join his ranks. Because of such efforts, the Tories won 17 seats in the 1979 election, wiping out the Liberals to become the official opposition to the government of Allan Rock. When Collier moved to Arizona, where he already had business interests, the Tories, under his successor, Grant Devore, went on to win a landslide majority in the 1982 election.

Having abandoned politics, Collier is putting into practice his own belief in the efficacy of a private health care system. His own efforts seem successful: businesses in the health care field, with annual sales of \$84 million. One, Patients' Choice Inc., offers the only health insurance plan in the United States requiring advance approval by the insurance company for all medical services Collier claims that the plan, in which a computer monitors requests for medical treatment, controls abuse of health insurance by both doctors and patients. Said Collier: "We believe we are at the forefront of providing medical care in the United States."

But the former Tory leader has been unsuccessful in selling these services to the Conservative government of his home province. "They do not even return my phone calls," Thatcher told the star witness, said—as odd way to trust an old Saskatchewan Tory.—DAVID EDGER



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COLUMN

The cheap price of anti-nazism

By Barbara Amiel

What is behind it all? Forty years after the defeat of the Third Reich, the Western world is suddenly absorbed in a feverish attempt to smother old Nazi. President Ronald Reagan, leader of the free world, is the target of criticism from civil libertarians, Jewish groups and even Prime Minister Brian Mulroney for his visit to West Germany's Bittburg cemetery—because the graveyard includes a few in soldiers among its 5,000 dead. Does not one see the danger—and irony—of a world that concentrates the blue-white flame of its fire moral intensity upon the faded spectre of nazism?

The danger is grim, most especially for someone like myself—a Jew. In my opinion, the people fanning over the Bittburg visit and those groups spending such energy naming down old Nazi war criminals are acting in a manner that is highly impure to Jews today. Some of the people involved know that very well, some do not realize the consequences of their actions. But it is a point that cannot be hammered home too often.

Behind the fuss does lie one central aim that all decent people share—I hope that we can prevent future holocausts from happening. Having agreed with that, surely the question we have to ask ourselves is, what kind of a society operates holocausts? And what kind of a society is most dangerous to the Jews? History answers from the jails of Argentina to the ballrooms of the Soviet Union, it is totalitarianism of the left and the right that is most dangerous. A further look reveals what is by now no surprise to anyone—that right-wing totalitarianism exists in tiny isolated pockets. Their may be as unpleasant regime, little Sixth Cities. But neither are serious bent on erasing its system.

Left-wing totalitarianism is another matter. Who are the people currently oppressing Jews, funding their enemies, representing Jewish descendants such as Anatoly Shcharansky and pursuing aggressive military adventures? Obviously, it is the Soviets.

This is evident to most people. But what seems more difficult to grasp is the fact that protests against visits to a West German cemetery or the prosecution of old Nazi war criminals helps today's totalitarianism.

Let me explain. The concentrated effort to focus attention on nazism has had several threats. One is to get free governments to pass laws that are in-

jurious to liberal democracy and which weaken a free society and create dissension in it. Such laws include retroactive legislation which threatens due process in criminal proceedings in order to make it easier to convict old Nazi war criminals. Other laws include limits on free speech and opinion, such as the hate literature provisions of the criminal codes in Canada and Germany.

Equally serious is the attempt to create dissension between Western democratic allies—specifically between the United States and West Germany which together are the two staunchest bulwarks against communism. A typical example of this thrust is the hue and cry over the Bittburg cemetery visit.

Bittburg contains a bitter memory of the last major concentration of the Germans against the Allies. In Bittburg cemetery are the graves of those who fought in the Battle of the Bulge in the cold winter months leading up to June-

'I have contempt for the politicians who are brave against dead totalitarianism and accommodate live ones'

ary, 1945. When it was over, 160,000 men lay dead. The German retreat from the Battle of the Bulge was like Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. Descriptions from survivors are frightful accounts of soldiers shuffling through the snow with feet bound in rags, their skin ulcerated, bodies crippled and dismembered—victims all. It was the Americans who took the brunt of that offensive. No doubt when the dust settled, it was the Bittburg cemetery on the 48th anniversary of V-E Day, Reagan's advisers thought that he would be honoring both the American and German soldiers who fought in that last great battle.

In that context, Reagan was simply solving a dilemma made by the Allies years ago. Even before the Second World War ended, the Allies abandoned the concept of collective German guilt. They decided that all Germans were to be held accountable for the crimes of the Nazis. There was a practical aspect to their decision. They wanted unconditional surrender and thought the idea of collective guilt would stifle German resistance. There was probably an additional reason. Most people are skeptical,

most soldiers follow orders.

All the same, there is no question that for many people, and especially Jews, Reagan's visit to Bittburg was a source of pain. It was a foolish, thoughtless act. And in my mind it also showed once again the moral hypocrisy of this world. Western leaders do not lay wreaths in front of Moscow's Lukyanov prison, where today's victims of totalitarianism are incarcerated. Instead, they only mourn yesterday's toll.

Still, while the decision to visit Bittburg may have been stupid, it was not, in itself, a highly important one. The exaggerated significance given to it, however, has created tensions between the United States and the West Germans and has thus helped the Soviets—the only active totalitarianism intent on harassing the Jews. The Bittburg incident has had one other important effect. It sets as a decoy, it distracts attention from the real beasts actively running concentration camps today.

Of course it cannot be said often enough that nazism was the most horrible regime in history, that to be against nazism today is as easy and inexpensive way to show that one is a moral being. Those people who concentrate their energies on fighting nazism—a system of thought that has been defeated and discredited for 40 years—must often feel anxious to accommodate active totalitarianism. At best they are finding a cheap, painless way to fight for the principles of liberal democracy. At most they are actively misdirecting their energies in order to undermine our freedom.

I do not believe for a moment that these Jewish organizations who protested the Bittburg visit were trying to help the Soviet Union. But they should understand that that is the consequence of their actions. As for our media and politicians who were so upset at the visit, I have nothing but contempt for them. They are brave in their stand against dead totalitarianism—and weak-kneed when faced with live ones.

How cheap it all is. As long as we are nice to the active totalitarianism, there are no contracts to lose, no profits to sacrifice, no risky diplomatic moments, no wheat and oil. Meanwhile, we can spend all our moral indignation on defeated Nazis, and it doesn't cost a penny. We can win a moral high ground. The price tag will only come if ever we get the courage and moral direction to assume the same position vis-à-vis the oppressive murderers of today.

A REMARKABLE LIBERAL UPSURGE

By Mary Janigan

They appeared only 16 minutes apart on television after a competition that left them almost neck-and-neck at the finish line. But the starkly different strategies they projected to their Ontario audience exposed a gulf in attitude and manner as wide as the 400 km between them last Thursday night. From the rural resort region of Muskoka, a subdued Premier Frank Miller, 57, conceded that his once-secure Conservative government had been reduced to minority status by the electorate and was clinging to power by only a handful of seats. Clad in a brown blazer and his trademark tortoiseshell, the premier pledged to learn from the election results and vowed to show urban Ontarians that "good leaders do come from Muskoka."

Then, a jubilant Liberal Leader David Peterson, resplendent in a stark blue suit and red polka-dot tie, greeted his home-team supporters in London with conciliatory words and barely restrained glee. Declared the 41-year-old former businessman, "This is truly a magnificent moment. The message is that the people of this province want forward-looking and compassionate government."

These messages sent shock waves through Ontario's free-wheeling voters in the province—and across the out-of-office Ontario voters' camp within four seats of ejecting Miller's historically entrenched Tories from office. For the devoted and dispirited Conservatives, it was a clear signal that Miller's right-wing, rural vote did not sell well in an increasingly urban and urban Ontario. For the province's resurgent Liberals, it was evidence that they have emerged from the shadow of defeat that had engulfed the party regionally for years and nationally since the departure of former prime minister Pierre Trudeau a year ago.

For Conservatives across the nation it was a disconcerting signal that the electorate has not—despite the federal party's massive electoral sweep in September—reversed decisively or lastingly to the right. And for Liberal cheerleaders, vanquished federally and out of power in the provinces, it was a rare and reassuring sign that they may be on the move again (page 38).

The Ontario Tories suffered heavy

losses in a competition that the three main parties all contested under leaders chosen since the last election four years ago. Miller, as successor to former premier William Davis and the such leader in a 48-year-old governing dynasty, inherited a government that controlled 72 of the 126 seats in the legislature when he took over at the beginning of February. He emerged from the election he

coldest setbacks went down in defeat. Most of them—including Environment Minister Morley Keefe, Industry Minister Gordon Wilson and Solicitor-General John Williams—were government members of the party's right wing. "It has been a tough campaign," Miller told his supporters. "We will listen carefully, we will learn, we will do our best."

To do so, Miller will have to learn the delicate skill of running a minority government. So that said, the premier said he will recall the legislature on May 21 and he indicated that he will not introduce controversial legislation, because minority government is "a high-wire balancing act." For his part, Peterson claimed that "we have far more which unite us in this province than divide us." But he said that the Liberals will take advantage of their new power to promote job creation, equality for women, pollution control and educational reform. But, whose party's support could be critical to the survival of Miller's government, vowed that "we will act responsibly, we will act respectfully."

Despite these notably unapologetic pledges, all three parties may find it difficult to keep a minority Conservative government in office. In fact, there are numerous issues that could bring about the fall of the Tories. Both the Liberals and the NDP oppose the Conservative policy of paying doctors to kill patients far more than is covered by the province's medical system, a policy that Miller reaffirmed during the campaign. On the issue of unemployment, the premier has proposed a three-year small-business tax exemption to help create jobs—a policy that the other parties oppose.

Peterson has already ruled out the possibility of trying to form a coalition with the NDP to supplant the premier.

Both opposition parties will have to weigh the risk of invoking popular displeasure by turning another costly election soon against the gamble that propelling the Tory government will give Miller an opportunity to recover. Said the premier: "The electorate will be in no mood to be tested early."

In the wake of the election upset, the

established Tory government.

As well, the results indicated that Ontario's Tories had lost contact with the province's city dwellers. In the election the Conservatives lost 17 of the 51 urban seats, and three of the seven heavily ethnic ridings, that they held in 1981. Said Liberal campaign manager Ross McGregor: "Frank Miller and the

man Patrick Kinsella took 'responsibility for what happened' to Miller. He added: "I think Peterson just knew where to go. He knew where he wanted to show himself up geographically; he ran a very competent campaign, and the media was kind."

Strategists for all three parties sought explanations for why the traditional Conservative coalition of urban and rural voters had crumbled. Part of the reason clearly lay in the contrast between the confident Peterson and the falteringly but less certain Miller. A formerly unblemished right winger, Miller struggled unsuccessfully to convince voters that his voice extended beyond his Muskoka small-business heartland. By contrast, Peterson symbolized the new Liberal—a polished post-Toronto politician who espoused a class-molded liberal platform. In the face of that challenge, the Tory regime appeared to be more struggling than stable. And Miller compounded his problems by upstaging his party and rebelling in off-province elections-winner operation—the Big Blue Machine. Instead, he put his own loyalists in positions of power, gradually they lost control of the policy agenda.

As polls showed support for the Conservatives eroding during the campaign, Miller's strategists made an eleventh-hour attempt to repair that severe breach within the party organization. Only a week before voting day, those organizers met with members of the party's Big Blue Machine, a group of veteran strategists. According to party sources, the Big Blue keynotes suggested some basic changes in campaign tactics. But Miller's organizers, apparently still unwilling to share power with the men and women who supported his rival in last January's party leadership race,



The Petersons, son Rian, on election night joy



Miller and wife, Anne, on election night in Stratford. Shock waves in the party's back rooms

most of Ontario's voters was suddenly under scrutiny by strategists from all three parties in all provinces. Just eight months after their stunning defeat by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservatives, federal Liberals contended that the Ontario result is a signal that voters in the next provincial election, at least, may finally be prepared to overlook the unpopular record of former prime minister Pierre Trudeau. In the Maritime provinces and Quebec, the party is once again a political threat to

Tories provided us with a historic opportunity because they presented to the public an aging, right-wing image." He added: "They left room for David Peterson and the Liberal party to occupy the centre—and it was that centre of the political spectrum that we had so desperately tried to occupy during the Davis years without success. Peterson has succeeded in putting an urban face on the party without abandoning the True North rural constituency."

For his part, Tory campaign chair-

accepted only a few minor suggestions.

The meeting ended without a reconciliation between the two factions—and the Miller campaign continued to flourish. "Astonishing—basically they are all amateurs," snapped a former insider who was in close contact with the Conservative campaign. Kinsella, he added, "is an excellent mechanic but he is not a strategist. He never had a major say in

1982, much to the Tory's provincial foundation began to appear after Dave answered last fall that he planned to step down. A latter leadership race developed involving four of Dave's ministers who straddled the wide ideological range of the Conservative party. The urbane former attorney general, Roy McMurtry, and the brash and ambitious provincial treasurer, Larry Grossman,

the first time in 1974 as health minister, Miller tried to cut costs by closing small-town hospitals. As treasurer in 1982 he extended the provincial sales tax to fast foods, women's garments and pets. As well, he expressed distaste for party programs ranging from rent controls to the minimum wage. His three leadership opponents distrusted that right-wing bias and they all said that the wealthy Tory from the Muskoka region of Ontario's resort and cottage country was out of touch with the times. Despite that, private party polls after Miller became leader showed the party with the support of a strong 56 per cent of the electorate and the Liberals and NDP at 31 per cent apiece.

Conservative leaders say now that Miller could have fared stronger if he had avoided several key mistakes. For one thing, he failed to heal the wounded feelings among the leadership camps after taking office. Most operations of the Big Blue Machine had worked for Grossman or McMurtry in the campaign. But Miller—as a rural Tory who was not a member of the mass urban vote circle—resented the power of those overlooked representatives and the city-based cabinet ministers whom they supported. After taking the leadership, the premier and his associates wanted full control of the government—and they were unwilling to share their newfound power.

Publicly, Miller extended an olive branch to his opponents and their campaign workers. But behind the scenes, members of his inner circle of advisors—including Vanguard Trust of Canada Ltd. president David Melnick and the premier's principal secretary, Michael Peric—made it clear to their unelected opponents that they were not needed. McMurtry resigned from the cabinet and subsequently accused Premier Minister Mulroney's offer of a job as high commissioner to Britain. Timbrell and Grossman stayed on as ministers, but privately offended, their friends said. The



Bob and Arlene Rae at election-night headquarters: narrow gains but a power role to play

the federal or Ontario campaigns before—he did what he was told."

The unbroken Conservative reign began with George Drew in August, 1943. And it held through the brief tenure of Thomas L. Kennedy in 1948-49 into the era of Leslie Frost (1949-1961) and John Robarts (1961-1971). Under Robarts's successor, William Davis, the Tories thrived—in the 1975 and 1977 elections—held on with a majority of the seats in the legislature. The party rebounded in the 1981 election, winning 70 seats—a 15-seat majority over the combined Liberal and New opponents.

Traditionally, the party's strength has been solidly rooted in a coalition of rural and urban voters who supported the Conservatives' mix of moderately progressive and conservative policies. Flexible and responsive to change, the party managed to attract voters from both the political right and the centre. At the same time, the Conservatives almost always produced leaders whose robust and personal popularity outstripped that of the party itself. Davis, noted Peterson, "inked an extraordinary name in his own time."

stood on the left of their party; the stallion farmer agriculture minister, Dennis Timbrell, occupied the centre. Miller, who served as Davis's industry minister, rose to the right.

At the party's leadership convention on Jan. 25 and 26 in Toronto, Miller was the favorite because most of the delegates were old-guard, right-wing Conservatives—a group that many younger party members no longer represent an increasingly cosmopolitan and urban Ontario electorate. But those delegates helped Miller, on the third convention ballot, to speak to victory by 77 votes over Grossman— even though all three of his rivals were united against him.

The choice of Miller was a departure for the Ontario Tories. At 51, the affable former diamond engineer and resort operator had a history of representing centrist-to-right-wing policies. Appointed to the cabinet for

Kinsella: ice-bridging



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party strategists who had backed them, including some highly skilled organizers, went into political exile, answered by Miller and his aides. "It takes six months for the divisions to answer down to the point where you can even start to think about things together," noted a Tory insider. The Miller camp totally cut out the group that always fine-tuned winning strategies.

The strategy within the party designed when Miller appointed Kinsella, who masterminded B.C. Premier Bill Bennett's 1988 election victory, as campaign chairman. At the same time, he sidelined Norman Ashin, veteran chairman of the Big Blue Machine and a guiding force behind the federal Conservative victory last Sept. 4. Then, just a few weeks after taking office—and before he had called the legislature into session or presented a throne speech—Miller ended the provincial election for May 2.

With the campaign under way, Kinsella's election strategy soon became clear—and immediately caused problems. Adopting the campaign technique of "low-bridging," in which the leader keeps a low profile, Miller refused to take part in a proposed televised debate with the other party leaders. For the first few weeks of the campaign he delivered low-key speeches and avoided journalists. Although low-bridging was successfully employed by former prime minister Pierre Trudeau against Tony Leader Joe Clark in the 1980 federal election and by Mulroney against then-prime minister John Turner during last summer's federal election, it was ill-suited to the Ontario campaign. In theory, low-bridging focuses attention on a weaker opponent and minimizes the leader's own weaknesses by keeping him out of the campaign spotlight.

That strategy may not have been the right one for Miller because he never truly fits the role of a new leader who still isn't built as an ideologue as premier. Indeed, low-bridging may have added his two strongest opposition leaders by allowing them the opportunity to promote their own programs while undermining Miller by staying out of sight. They campaign veterans argued last week that Miller should have been setting the campaign pace with a strong cabinet team and a bold and dynamic agenda. Other problems beset the Tories. Prior to the election call, Conservative organizers sold a series of television commercials around Miller—but a party poll later showed that Ontario voters did not feel comfortable with the new premier.

As well, Miller's campaign showed the effects of internal disorganization. A veteran party insider complained that

as a result of Kinsella's lack of direction, the Conservative campaign was run on the basis of three competing strategies—from Kinsella himself, from Miller's personal political associates like Perri and from the four representatives on the road with the premier. "They do not have a smooth, well-run strategy," noted the insider during the campaign. "They keep changing the focus. I watch the ads and I do not know the message that they are trying to give me. And they were so arrogant that they did not even assess what their opponents were all about."

Another Conservative, former cabinet minister Sidney Handelman, point-

ed out the Ontario program, which included a \$973-million plan to eliminate provincial small-business tax for three years.

But he tried to sustain that momentum on the campaign. Instead, in a series of low-key speeches Miller argued that the Tories had pulled Ontario out of the recent recession and achieved a 5.6-per-cent economic growth rate last year. But the emphasis on update and restore government could run into the accelerating slide in the polls. Generally, Miller began to issue more election underlinings, pledging a total of \$697 million in the first year of a new Conservative government and \$1.7 billion over four years.



Miller in Ancaster offering small-town ideas to electors with big-city tastes

ed out that the Tories early television commercials were almost disconcerting. "Miller's personality was distorted," said Handelman. "It was not that general, black-sheeping man but someone pointing a finger at me telling me all the things that he was going to do for me."

That backroom confusion affected Miller's performance. Before the campaign started he had tried to define his position about his policies by allocating \$22 million for child care, expanding a four-per-cent ceiling on pensionable annual rent increases on controlled dwellings and unveiling a \$1.5-billion "Enterprise

(The Liberals claimed that they policies would cost \$1.5 billion in the first year and \$2.5 billion over three years.) Near the end of the campaign the premier finally firmly took the offensive, attacking the Liberals for the alleged free-spending habits of their federal counterparts. He also criticized the N.W.A. as a party that "breeds an economy and hate." In the end he suggested that voters could count on beneficial treatment for their children if they elected Tory members.

Meanwhile, both opposition parties waged formidable campaigns. A lockstep performer in the legislature, Peterson was surprised and polished on the campaign trail

Ashin: Blue Machine



The sectarian factor

By Sherri Aikenhead

As a campaigning began for the Ontario election six weeks ago, leaders of the three main parties concentrated on the issues they believed voters cared most about—jobs, health care funding and other dollars-and-cents concerns. But

before he announced plans to step down as party leader—rekindled historic sectarian divisions in the province. It generated a renewed debate over the separation of church and state, scored public school teachers who feared for their jobs and angered non-Catholic parents and school boards who argued that the quality of education might suffer, with

tion," declared Leslee Mac Baile, a Toronto anti-Catholic mother of three. When the election returns were in, Peterson's nine-point margin, Ross McGreevy, concluded that Miller's Tories "inherited on the same because of the process of making the decision, rather than the decision itself," and acknowledged that the Liberals also "may have been hurt by the 'complicity of silence' charge."

The dispute over funding Catholic education in Ontario dates back to Confederation. At the time, legislators from Ontario West agreed to provide funds for Catholic elementary education in return for a constitutional guarantee of Protestant education in Catholic Quebec. Over the years, Ontario's Catholics—who currently make up 35 per cent of the province's 8.5 million population—pressed for the inclusion of public funding. Through the last three years of high school, Ontario governments resisted that demand—leaving parents to pay the costs privately—until Drew secured, by unanimous agreement in the fall, funding of Grades 17, 18 and 19 in Catholic schools would be introduced a year at a time.

Rarely debated in the early stages of the campaign, the issue of public education after the 25,000-member Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation ran newspaper and television advertisements last month to protest a policy which they say will cost 5,000 non-Catholic teachers their jobs as Catholic students in non-denominational public high schools leave for newly funded Catholic institutions. Then, only a week before the election the Anglican archbishop of Toronto, Lewis Gurnaworthy, through the *Star* "lets the forefront of the campaign. His comparison of Drew's decision to the voters of Miller's Third Beach was widely expected."

For his part, Miller and his government will now reconsider his plans to introduce funding legislation this spring, and Peterson pledged to introduce legislation only after "intensive discussions" with concerned groups. In the meantime, the Metropolitan Toronto School Board considered the possibility of a court challenge—on the grounds that the proposed legislation would violate the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms by discriminating on the basis of religion. But after the stunning Tory setback, the issue may disappear from the legislative agenda.

Gurnaworthy: a charge of sectarian bias brought an issue into the open

throughout the campaign another candidate and divisive issue dominated the candidates, sparking voters and perplexing politicians who, for the most part, tried to avoid discussing it. Still, former premier William Davis's decision to extend public funding to Roman Catholic high schools except as a key issue in the campaign. Indeed, within hours of his Conservative party's crushing setback, Premier Frank Miller told reporters that if all the issues raised in the campaign, the main problem for his party, "from the people I've talked to, was the school issue."

Drew's decision last June—just four months

about \$40 million a year in additional funding being used for Roman Catholic education. The issue also posed a dilemma for the major parties. Non-Catholics charged that Drew's decision was part of a deal with Toronto's Cardinal Carter to win Roman Catholic votes, but Miller supported his predecessor's decision—with a notable lack of enthusiasm.

At the same time, neither David Peterson's Liberals—who tried unsuccessfully to have the support of Ontario Catholics—nor Bob Rae's New Democrats could afford to antagonize Catholic voters. The silence of the political leaders "leaves us in one hell of a position," declared Leslee Mac Baile, a Toronto anti-Catholic mother of three.

Drew: costly legacy



The new mara! the centre

By Shona McKay

With two days left to go before last week's Ontario election, Liberal leader David Peterson snatched on a final round of media-streets in Toronto. Accompanied by his actress wife, Shelley, and

sporting a bright red tie, Peterson greeted constituents at a downtown subway station, shook hands with shoppers in suburban plazas and lunched on hot dogs with the party faithful at a takeout restaurant. Then, during a visit to Liberal candidate Alvin Curragh's Scarborough North headquarters, Peterson performed one of the few spontaneous

actions in a methodical and carefully planned campaign. Inspired perhaps by the sunny skies—and by party polls that predicted a landslide for the Conservatives' political dominance of the province—Peterson took off his jacket and tried his hand at playing a steel drum with a West Indian band.

When the campaign for last month's provincial election began, the 43-year-old former businessman from London, Ont., who took over the party leadership three years ago, was not rated highly as a political contender. Viewed as an uninspiring performer in the legislature, Peterson as recently as last Christmas found

that image "As a result, the Liberals lost farmers that they would reduce interest rates on outstanding debts, and they appealed to low-income apartment dwellers by pledging \$100 million for the building of co-operative and affordable housing. At the same time, they offered northern Ontarians a system of tax credits to offset their higher living expenses."

Indeed, one of the few problems in Peterson's campaign arose when he charged—without putting forward any proof—that provincial liquor board officials had coerced "subtle and unhelpful pressure" to make restaurant and tavern owners contribute money to the Conservative party. But the damage may have been offset by the astute and appealing style that the Liberal leader demonstrated. Peterson has worked for several years to improve his political image by trimming mean-spiritedness from his staid, two-inch-framed, smiling face and replacing it with contact lenses, taking media training to improve his performance on television and improving his proficiency in French to the point where he is now fluent.

On the campaign trail, Peterson also showed a new effectiveness in attacking his political opponents. Campaigning in the final week, Peterson attacked Premier Frank Miller's suggestion that citizens who elected Conservatives would receive preferential treatment. Miller, Peterson told voters, "is making a list, he's checking it twice, he's going to find out who's naughty or nice."

But the most important support that Peterson received came from Miller. "When we became aware that Miller was a major negative issue," said Peterson's campaign manager, Ross McGregor, "it became one of our challenges to communicate his poor leadership." In the end, and in rural meeting halls, Peterson, a lawyer who won the party leadership in 1982, reluctantly criticized Miller for his law-profile, "book-a-bow" campaign and for his refusal to join the opposition leaders in a debate. He also claimed that the government had to assume responsibility for last month's poll of

Soile Rhee near Kemora, Ont. Peterson conceded that Miller's poor performance made campaigning easier. He added, "If Bill Davis had been running I would have been at my best in a 900-yard dash. But the unexpected new premier opened up a road that we were able to step into."

Peterson, who has held the London Centre seat since he entered the legislature in 1983, comes from a political family. He is the second son of Marie and Clarence Peterson, a longtime socialist who became a Liberal, ran unsuccessfully twice for the federal Liberals and later set up a successful electronics firm. Peterson, whose brother Jim is a farmer in Ontario, grew up in a comfortable home where political passions were never in short supply. His mother fondly recalls that David was "politically precocious. At the age of 5, I remember him asking visitors at the door if they were Liberals. If they answered yes, he let them in."

At the University of Toronto, where he took a bachelor's degree in philosophy and political science, Peterson was a member of the boating and debating teams, and later as a student at Toronto's Osgoode Hall law school he did legal aid work among young drug users in Toronto (Peterson was called to the Ontario bar in 1989 but has never practiced as a lawyer). He returned to London to run his father's business and in 1974 Peterson married actress Shelley Christine Matthews, daughter of Don Matthews, former national president of the Conservative party, after a whirlwind courtship. The years later, and with three children—Bergamot, 7, Chloé, 5, and Adam, 3—Peterson describes his marriage as an "unintentional bliss." Conversely, the Petersons divide their time between a house in London and a rented house in Toronto. Because of the demands of politics and family Peterson says there is little time for other pursuits. He added, "I try every day to find when I can, but that is it."

After the jarring attack that he helped to administer to Miller's Conservatives, a triumphant Peterson modestly has his sights set on the premiership. "I am prepared to work with the Tories," he declared last week, "but I will not allow Frank Miller to take Ontario back. 30 years I do not wish to humiliate the government, but, yes, I would like to beat them out. Obviously I want to stand as boss."



The Petersons (from left, Shelley, Chloé, Adam, David and dog, Blueberry: catnip) head of the cities

The Liberals offered voters an employment tax credit for small business that would pay 26 per cent of the cost of hiring a new employee and pledged to allow the sale of domestic beer and wine in grocery stores, provide \$100 million for nonprofit housing and maintain dental care for needy senior citizens and children until they finish elementary school.

Although the NDP's campaign tended to be overshadowed by the Liberals', party leader Rae proved to be a strong opponent as well. During the campaign, Rae vowed to reduce the provincial unemployment rate of 8.7 per cent by two percentage points in one year. As well, he pledged to improve child care programs and to introduce tough legislation to help preserve existing jobs. Rae got off his best political shot when a truck spilled toxic PCBs along the Trans-Canada Highway near Kemora on April 13. "In Miller's Ontario every cloud has a silver lining," declared the new leader.

But Miller himself turned out to be the main target for both opposition parties. At the start of the campaign, Tory officials exchanged the premier's traditional pinstriped jackets and bowtie image for blue suits. Miller's genial personality rarely came across in his written speeches. As the campaign progressed, the gentlemanly Miller seriously attacked his opponents with unusually male innuendo such as labeling an NDP policy a "dumb socialist idea." And the once-stationer provincial treasurer spent spending premises and shifted policies.

As a result, Miller will now have to start again in his attempt to ease the voters' misgivings of his personality and policies. That will not be easy. Angered by their election setback, many Conservatives are already arguing privately that Miller is not a winner—and that he should resign. Although an open split in the party is unlikely, the bitterness could further weaken the Tories.

In 1981 William Davis won his seat in Brampton, just outside of Toronto, by more than 15,000 votes. It was an easy victory for the seasoned, popular and conservative campaigner. But last week in the same riding, Robert Callaghan, a 47-year-old Liberal lawyer, defeated Conservative Jeff Rhee, a 28-year-old businessman, by more than 4,000 votes. That turnaround in the affluent heart of what was once Conservative country was a telling indication to Miller's party of the magnitude of the task ahead.

With Ken MacQuinn in Brampton, Ann Whelan in London and Richard Weston in Toronto

McGregor: quick start



Assessing the impact

By Ross Laver

It was a resurgence that was felt far beyond Ontario's provincial boundaries. With a Tory government now firmly in power in Ontario, a solid holding office in seven of the 10 provinces, last week's surprising Liberal turnaround under David Peterson indicated that Liberalism in the post-Trudeau era is still a potentially powerful force. Declared Nova Scotia Liberal leader Vince MacLeod, whose party was soundly defeated in an election last November: "The vast discrepancy that was felt by our party in last 1984 is starting to lift."

Still, analysts were divided over whether Peterson's success in reducing Premier Frank Miller's Tories to a thinly held minority control presaged a Liberal resurgence elsewhere. For one thing, the outcome was partly the result of Miller's lustrous personal performance and a demonstrable ease among most Ontario voters that after almost 42 years of Tory government a change is overdue. But the pressing Tory setbacks did cause concern in Conservative ranks elsewhere in Canada, raising the prospect that the party's hold on political power in some provinces might be less secure than it had appeared. Said John Adams, president of the Nova Scotia PC Association: "The message is that we cannot take anything for granted. Our party should be on the alert."

Although a clear trend has not yet developed, there are indications that Tory strength may be waning in eastern Canada. Last month Newfoundland Premier Brian Peckford's Conservatives now renege with a sharply reduced popular vote and the loss of eight seats, down to 35, while Jane Sifton's Liberals gained one seat, to 15. And the new hold on the 52-member assembly in New Brunswick's aLump in Conservative Premier Richard Hatfield's popularity is attributed to an aura of successful action based on his personal notoriety. His party lost a by-election in the Liberals last week in Riverview, a Maritown area, riding which the Tories had held for more than 30 years (page 19). In Nova Scotia, Premier John Buchanan's Conservative government has, according to 42-18 majority in the legislative assembly and 4½ years left to

run in its mandate. But both Liberal and New Democratic Party spokesmen have taken heart from a series of Tory embarrassments—including the disclosure that a former Tory member of the legislature received more than \$34,000 in travel allowances to which he was not entitled.



Jean Chénier campaigning for Toronto Liberal candidate in Scott's comeback

Quebec is the only province where the Conservatives are not a political force. There, a provincial party was set up in January (see it has operated without the support of the federal party because

point lead in the polls over NDP Premier René Lévesque, who has to call an election by the fall of 1986. But in Saskatchewan, Conservative Premier Grant Devine decided to stall plans for a provincial election after his party's share of the vote in a March by-election dropped to 42 from 60 per cent. Said

Saskatchewan NDP leader Allan Rock: "If there were two messages from the Ontario election, they are that the Conservative party is under pressure, to put it mildly, and that the electorate is hardly robotic."

Still, that is unlikely to trouble Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed. His Tories currently have 55 of the province's 59 seats, and they are traditionally insulated from the party's fortunes nationally and in other provinces. But in British Columbia, NDP leader Robert Skelly claimed that Miller's setback shows voters are tired of right-wing politics. According to a recent poll, 46 per cent of B.C. voters think that the province's conservative-oriented Social Credit government is doing a poor job, compared to only 18 per cent who approve of its performance.

With correspondents' reports



Hatfield: the Liberals take one of the safest Tory seats in New Brunswick

A reversal for Hatfield

By Chris Wood

The unexpected developments for New Brunswick's premier, Richard Hatfield, started when the first ballot box was opened in last week's earliest by-election in the Montserrat riding of Riverview. When the returns were all in, Liberal Robert Skelly, a 30-year-old housewife, had defeated Progressive Conservative Scott MacGregor by 1,200 votes to 1,180 in a riding where the Tories had won every election in the past 22 years. After a campaign waged almost entirely on the merits of Hatfield's leadership, the result was a stunning rejection of the premier, haunted for months by allegations of drug use, excessive travel expenses and floundering over the province's explosive language debate. For most of the party workers, the message was clear: "Hatfield's got to go," declared one. Added riding executive member Ray Carver: "The whole thing comes down to the premier. That was it, killing it."

The by-election in Riverview, regarded as one of the safest Tory seats in New Brunswick when it was held by former

Hatfield cabinet minister Brenda Robertson-Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appeared her to the Senate in December—had sloped up in an end to end of Hatfield's popularity. Repeated voters in the affluent middle-class riding to "take a stand for the family values of honesty, integrity and decency," and his campaign levelled from the efforts of hundreds of former Conservative party workers who switched sides to vote for him. Isolated Lums O'Leary, a former Conservative party worker and mother of three who supported Skelly: "I worked for 16 years for the PCs, but I'm just fed up with what's been going on."

The by-election result constituted a dramatic reversal of the triumph by Hatfield's Conservatives in the general election of Oct. 12, 1985, when the Tories won 59 of the legislature's 58 seats. But that victory was quickly upended by the leader's personal problems. Last year Hatfield was charged with possession of marijuana. He was acquitted of the charge in January, but within days he faced new drug allegations based on statements by two former col-

lege students, who claimed the premier provided them with drugs in 1981 during an all-night party at his Fredericton home. Those unsubstantiated allegations had barely faded from public attention when the opposition Liberals began pressing the premier to explain travel expenses that they estimated have run as high as \$7,000 a day for trips in the past fiscal year to other including Montreal and New York.

His final lap to swiftly developed the political significance of the Riverview result: "By-elections are always rough in tough economic times," said Robertson, who insisted that Hatfield remain in "very popular in many areas of this province." That reference was presumably to the premier's popularity among French-speaking Acadian voters, whose rights he has promoted since taking power in 1979.

But Robertson's explanation did not appear to be convincing in a riding that is among New Brunswick's wealthiest. Even more worrying for New Brunswick Tories were indications that Hatfield's support is slipping badly among francophone voters as well. "Hatfield was the French vote, but he hasn't got it locked up," said Nelson Landry, editor in chief of the French-language daily *L'Acadie Nouvelle*. Francophones are impatient with Hatfield's delay in extending bilingualism in New Brunswick—an action recommended by a controversial 1982 report on official languages that has split Hatfield's cabinet. Said Landry: "If the by-election had been held in a French seat, the result probably would have been the same."

For his part, the premier gave no outward sign of alarm. Following the by-election, his office issued a statement declaring that Hatfield accepted responsibility for the defeat and intended to make it a turning point and "regain the confidence of the voters of Riverview and maintain the confidence of the people of New Brunswick." While most New Brunswick Tories appeared willing to give him time to double his political future, there was also a growing sense that either his resignation or a dramatic turnaround in his public performance will have to take place before the party's second election in November. Still, the party's options are limited because there is no mechanism allowing it to force a leadership review. Spokesmen for the opposition Liberals say they hope that the potentially lame premier will still be leading his party in the provincial election, which is expected in the next 18 months. Declared Frank McKenna, the 38-year-old lawyer and MLA who was elected Liberal party leader last Saturday: "Richard Hatfield is not going to leave because he has the support of his party. His morality is their morality." ☐

The Rhinos' farewell

In 1983 Jacques Ferron, a Quebec physician and writer disillusioned with conventional politics, helped found the Rhinoceros Party in honor of a creature that he considered an ideal political symbol because it is "a thick-skinned, clumsy, stupid animal that loves to wallow in the mud." The party proposed such nonsense policies as giving off the national debt with credit cards and parking over the Bay of Fundy for use as a parking lot. At their peak, 120 Rhinos ran in the 1986 federal election—two of them in the single riding of Sherbrooke, Que. But on April 22, Ferron—who won the Governor General's Award for Literature in 1982—died at the age of 54. Then, last week party members, meeting at their Montreal "headquarters," voted to disband the party that had entertained Canadians for 33 years.

At various times the Rhinos proposed to sell Senate seats for \$10 apiece, promote nuclear-powered toothbrushes for every Canadian and advocated moving the Rocky Mountains to improve the view. The party expanded beyond Quebec in the late 1970s under national campaign director Charles MacKenzie, a Vancouver journalist. But when it adopted an anticlerical stance for last year's federal election some Rhinos protested, pointing out that it was basic party policy to lamp all campaign promises of elected Jacques Goy, a founding member, said that after the party announced it was debanking, hundreds of people wrote and telephoned urging the party to continue.

Although Ferron was well-known outside Quebec through the Rhinos, he was also an influential author of plays, novels, tales and essays. He professed nostalgia in Montreal's linguistic district and was active during the 1960s in the separatist movement. In 1979 he helped negotiate the surrender of three terrorists who kidnapped and murdered Quebec Labor Minister Pierre Laporte.

Ferron's writings mixed Quebec nationalist rhetoric with the debunking of popular psychology. Montreal publisher Pierre Tanguay described him as "one of the most subtle minds and one of the most solid and constant writers in Quebec literature." Nine of Ferron's works have been translated into English, including *Papa Boom* and *The Penitent Redeemer*. After Ferron's death his brother and medical partner, Dr. Paul Ferron, left a tape-recorded message on the office answering machine: "Hi Ferron, is anything as definitive way I thank you. He thanks you."

—MARGARET HUGHES in Montreal



Creeble making divorce part of the solution, instead of part of the problem

A plan for no-fault divorce

Canada's 17-year-old divorce law has long been criticized by couples who are forced to wait three years to show that their marriage has broken down or who must prove that a spouse committed a transgression such as adultery or cruelty. But traditionally attempts to introduce no-fault divorce ran into opposition from feminists fighting for the material interests of women and from religious believers in the sanctity of family life. Then, last week Justice Minister John Creeble tried to ease these conflicting claims when he introduced legislation to make divorce both faster and simpler—and to make it harder for divorced parents to default on child support and maintenance payments.

With over 200 Canadian marriages ending in divorce each year—there were 68,567 in 1983 compared to 294,876 marriages—Creeble said that his bill recognizes divorce as an important issue for all of society. Officials are equally concerned that up to 75 per cent of divorced spouses fail to pay court-ordered alimony and family support—a cost to Canadian taxpayers of \$6 billion a year. Borrowing heavily from an earlier Liberal proposal, Creeble's bill would reduce the time that couples must wait for a divorce to 15 months and eliminate the need for expensive legal proceedings in uncontested actions. The aim, declared Creeble, is to "make the divorce laws part of the solution rather than part of the problem."

The major provisions of Creeble's bill, which is expected to become law by this summer, would

- replace fault-related grounds for divorce with marriage breakdown as the criterion. Adultery and cruelty would remain grounds for an immediate divorce;
- permit partners to avoid court proceedings for an uncontested divorce;
- open confidential records of federal data banks to the courts to help find divorced people who default on payments or violate custody orders;
- allow courts to garnish federal payments to individuals—including unemployment insurance cheques and income tax refunds—and force the proceeds to spouses or children.

Addressing another aspect of Canadians' personal and sexual lives, Creeble later in the week tabled a bill aimed at removing prostitutes from the streets by providing for jail terms of up to six months and \$500 fines for both prostitutes and—for the first time in Canada—their clients.

The bill is intended to curtail the wide-spread soliciting that developed after a 1978 Supreme Court of Canada ruling that prostitutes could not be convicted for "persisting and persistent" solicitation. But his bill was attacked by members of a federally appointed commission who, in a report that Creeble had released only a week earlier to all-party approval, recommended partial decriminalization of prostitution and the establishment of special urban zones for prostitution. "If this is all the government does," declared commission member John McQuinn, "then I'm inclined to think we'll just chase the problem."

—HEARY MACKENZIE

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ROYAL BANK

NATIONAL NOTES

Bourassa runs again



Bourassa candidacy

Exactly 15 years after he was first elected premier of Quebec, Liberal leader Robert Bourassa last week announced plans to run again in a national assembly seat. Bourassa, 51, who has been without a seat since he resigned the party leadership in October, 1984, plans to contest the Montreal-area riding of Bertrand in one of four by-elections called by Premier René Lévesque for June 3. His principal rival for the seat is expected to be Francine Lalonde, who in status of women minister in Lévesque's cabinet—even though she does not yet have a seat in the assembly. The constituency was previously held by former provincial minister Denis Laune, one of seven ministers who resigned following a party disaster in December to achieve independence as an issue in the next election—expected later this summer or in the fall.

Curbing the Senate

Two months after he first vowed to curb the powers of the Senate, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government was expected to introduce a bill this week to restrict the powers of the Upper House—in a move likely to draw criticism from both Tories and opposition politicians. Justice Minister John Crossie told the Commons last week that the government now has the support of eight provinces—the holidays are Manitoba and Quebec—for the proposed reform. In return, Ottawa has pledged to consider more fundamental Senate reforms at a future constitutional conference. According to The Canadian Press news agency the government measure would allow the Senate to delay money bills—legislation dealing with spending or taxation—for a maximum of 30 days and other bills for no more than 45 days. As a result, some Conservative senators say they are concerned that the proposal might put the Senate's liberal majority in a rebellious mood, and Liberal leader John Turner declared that the bill would "indirectly abolish the Senate" because the Commons would have the option of removing changes to legislation proposed by that chamber. Instead, Turner said that senators should be elected—not appointed by the government—although he declined to give details. Mulroney undertook in February to rein in the Senate after the Red Chamber held up a borrowing bill. Opposition critics pointed out that the proposed 30-day time limit for the Senate's examination of money bills is six days more than the 24 days that the Liberals delayed the government bill earlier this year.

Infant K's case

Child rights groups reacted angrily last week after a hysterectomy was performed in Vancouver on a 10-year-old mentally handicapped girl whose parents feared that she would have a hysterical reaction to her first menstrual period. The surgery was carried out secretly following a prearranged legal battle only six hours before the Supreme Court of Canada in Ottawa was scheduled to hear an application for an order to prevent the surgery. The parents of the girl—identified legally only as Infant K—asked the courts for permission last December to have their daughter sterilized because she had a

phobic reaction to blood and would be unable to cope mentally or hygienically with menstruation. In the proceedings that followed, lawyers for the public trustee's office, acting on behalf of the child, sought to prevent the operation. While the lawyers for Infant K argued that she was too young to be sterilized, Chris Hinkson, acting for the parents, told the Court of Appeal that it was unlikely the girl would ever have a normal reproductive life. "She has a practical right to sterilization," he argued. "She has an impractical right to virginity." After the operation was waived out Jacques Pelletier, executive vice-president of the Canadian Association of the Mentally Retarded, declared that "in a very factual way these people decided to take the law into their own hands. We call it barbarism—an atrocity."

Northern journey

The preliminary hearing was conducted partly in the Inuit language of Inuktitut. At the end, provincial court Judge James Fontana ordered former Liberal MP Peter Brinman last week to stand trial on a charge of using a forged document in 1983 to obtain \$2,000 from the government for a boat tour of his Arctic riding that never took place. The Ottawa judge threw out Mr. Brinman's charges of fraud and theft. His trial date will be set on June 7 for Brinman, 35, who was Canada's first Inuit MP. Elected in the 1979 election in the northernmost riding of Nunavut, he was defeated in last September's federal election. The hearing, which began last November, was disrupted by delays and translation problems. One interpreter insists that he was the first to translate legal and banking terms into Inuktitut for two key witnesses from Rankin Inlet, N.W.T.—Brinman's father, Ollie, and family friend Kulitlak Maniak. The evidence indicated that the then-MP intended to use the \$2,000 travel allowance for a month-long boat tour of Hudson Bay settlements. His father testified that he hired Maniak to act as guide and driver. The former MP is alleged to have signed Maniak's name to collect the expense money. When the tour was cancelled, the elder Brinman testified, most of the money had been spent to rent a family boat. The former MP, pleased by Fontana's dismissal of two charges, said, "Under the circumstances I think he was very fair."

Heading for home



Fanyo, just glad

After braving misadventures and avalanche conditions in the Rocky Mountains and through the Rogers Pass, one-legged runner Steve Fanyo last week returned the final personal leg of his cross-country run to raise money for cancer education, patient care and research. British Columbia Premier William Bennett greeted the 19-year-old native of Vernon, B.C., as he crossed the border from Alberta, and movie star Sylvester Stallone telephoned him encouragement when Fanyo, who last fall had to amputate at the age of 12, passed through B.C.'s Glacier National Park. Bennett challenged B.C. runners to match the total of more than \$5 million in contributions that Fanyo has raised since he set out 18 months ago from St. John's, Nfld. Declared a weary Fanyo, who was expected to complete his run at Victoria by the end of May—"I'm just glad I'm almost over."

In the language of compromise

By Michael Posner

The weather, for Bonn, was nothing out of the ordinary—cool, clear, informal, wet, dreary and pervasive fog off the Rhine. In the neo-paved streets of the West German capital, security police—15,000 strong—stood ready with pistols and submachine-guns at checkpoints, communicating with walkie-talkers and questioning pedestrians. German sharpshooters patrolled rooftops in the government district, surveillance helicopters churned overhead and head-snapping dogs prowled suspect corridors. The security operation, the most elaborate ever assembled for the annual summit of leading industrialized nations, was more than a simple display. Even before West Chancellor Helmut Kohl welcomed the presidents of the United States and France and the prime ministers of Canada, Britain, Italy and Japan, the Bonn fire department defused a 30-lb bomb concealed in a roadside office of the offices of West Germany's arm industry association. Police blamed left-wing extremists, who also took credit last week for bomb blasts in Cologne, Düsseldorf and Braunschweig which killed two people.

Within the security net, the 11th annual economic summit went off with its accustomed precision. On Thursday there were traditional bilateral talks designed to explore political issues likely to be studied at the summit. The next day leaders announced their expected political stance—much of it scripted in advance—endowing the U.S. proposals put forward at the Geneva arms talks with the Soviet Union and arguing, however, "not too positively" to achieve significant agreements there. Then, on Saturday, before the seven leaders posed for their annual "family photo opportunity," they released the final communiqué, an eight-page document that glided over the agreements in the ambiguous language of compromise. Later, emerging under Bonn's leaders' skins, the summiters stood for the cameras on the front steps of the Palace Schanzenberg, the imposing 17th-century building where, around a circular table, most of these discussions took place.

Like its predecessors, the Bonn gathering affirmed collective endorsement for the special interests of specific countries. The leaders supported France's plan to curb drought in Africa. And

they endorsed U.S. proposals for fighting international drug traffickers. Still, the aura of neutrality—as tidy as the Swiss Police laws—did not cloud an awareness of underlying discord. For one thing, the summit coincided with

adjunct President Ronald Reagan's controversial wreath-laying visit to a German war cemetery at Bitburg, where 3366 graves include about 48 members of the Waffen SS, elite Nazi storm troops. The trip, intended to



Helmut Kohl reviewing German honor guard with Kohl a creditable performance

40th-anniversary ceremonies marking the fall of Nazi Germany, an occasion that seemed to presage the participants and strained German-American relations. For another, despite their best efforts, neither the United States nor France was able to achieve outright their principal objectives in Bonn—agreement, respectively, on a new round of multilateral trade negotiations and on an international monetary conference to stabilize the world's volatile currency markets. As well, there were sharp exchanges on the question of economic sanctions after the U.S. decision to impose a trade embargo on Nicaragua (page B8). Deirdar Secretary of State George Shultz. "By and large, the Europeans don't agree that sanctions are a good tool to use for foreign policy purposes."

In fact, the discussions were largely overshadowed by an event that would occur 100 km away after the summit had

symbolized the reconciliation of old enemies, ignited furious protests in the United States and abroad and led to a public scolding by author Elie Wiesel, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and himself a survivor of Buchenwald, a Nazi death camp. Said Wiesel to Reagan: "Find another way, another site. That place, Mr. President, is not your place. Your place is with the victims. The pain here is not pain but good and evil."

But Reagan refused to change his plan, insisting that his decision was morally correct. "It's not going to honor anyone," he said on the eve of his departure for Europe. "It's going there to pay more tribute to the people, an awareness of the great reconciliation that has taken place." Kohl concurred, adding that cancellation of the visit would "deeply offend the feelings of our people." To limit the political damage, U.S. officials invited prominent Jewish

leaders and victims of Nazi terror to join the Bitburg ceremony, among them Wiesel and Nazi-baiter Elmer Wiesel. All declined. "It is theoretically possible that the man who killed my mother is buried there," Wiesel told Markler's "I am not going to allow myself to be used to cover up their blood."

Instead, a delegation of 500 students from 27 nations descended on the tiny West German town to protest the Sunday afternoon visit. For its part, Bonn added the names of Nazi soldiers to

renewed stubbornly resisted a U.S. proposal, backed by the other five nations, to convene a new round of global trade negotiations in 1988. Washington's goal to reduce tariff barriers which impede world trade and to counter a rising tide of protectionist sentiment. But Mitterrand said the first subject of any new trade negotiations would be agricultural subsidies and the main targets would be French farmers. Despite intense, all-night discussions, Mitterrand refused to compromise. As a result, the final communiqué said only that the

to recognize the monetary system using fixed rates of exchange—did not use the word "agreement." "I am not so confident about the generalized globalism," said British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, in an interview last week with *The Wall Street Journal*. "We got every country concerned. An exchange rate system has to respond to the underlying changes. So what anyone going to do to study the changes and study the economics?" The summiters did agree to "recognize the functioning" of the monetary system, but no action as the price is likely before autumn at the earliest, when the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund hold their annual meetings.

Informally, the Bonn seven discussed the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, the futuristic scheme for basing non-nuclear missile defense systems in outer space. But the allies are still weighing a Reagan administration invitation to join research for the so-called Star Wars program, and they avoided any endorsement. Said Shultz: "Some want to participate in it. Others are studying it. Others probably won't."

Canada may be one country that does not participate. Senior civil servants in Ottawa are now examining the American offer, but during a four-day London conference on June 10, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney told reporters: "I am less than enthusiastic about Canada being involved in a process where we do not call the shots, where we do not set the orientation and over whose parameters we have no control." Among observers, there is growing suspicion that the Mulroney cabinet is deliberately rejecting participation because Canadian public opinion runs strongly against the Star Wars plan, reflecting whatever economic gains Ottawa's involvement might bring.

Looking to debate on the summit stage last week, observers said that Mulroney performed creditably, seeking to reconcile opposing opinions. The compromise, Mulroney later conceded, none of the product. Things got worse. The Americans had to put a fair amount of water in their wine. Still, he added that he viewed the summit as "a not inconsiderable success, given the extreme positions" stated out earlier. The coming months will be decisive but that judgment. But in the streets of the capital, well away from the Palais National, thousands of demonstrators were delivering their own verdict on the summit. There, near a statue of Ludwig van Beethoven, who was born in Bonn, groups of West German "punks" paraded—with portions of their hair cut off—in protest. To the summit's architects, they were as deaf as the renowned composer.

With Ray McGowan in Bonn.



Graves of the Waffen SS at Bitburg: a controversial bid for reconciliation

the list of participants, including the son of the late Adol Col Claus von Stauffenberg, leader of a failed 1944 plot to assassinate Adolf Hitler. His purpose, said West German official explained, was "to make Bitburg more popular." In the end, Reagan scheduled only 30 minutes in the cemetery, accompanied by Chancellor Kohl, and he made no formal remarks. In a summation service earlier Sunday at Bergen-Belsen, near Hanover, the President's speech, which cited the 30,000 Jews who died in the camp and the six million Jewish victims of the Nazi Holocaust.

During the summit discussions French President François Mitterrand

new trading round should begin "as soon as possible," adding pointedly: "Most of us agree that this should be in 1986."

Nor did the Reagan administration's allies welcome the President's argument that Europe and Japan should begin to expand their economies now that the American economy may be starting to falter.

"We're asking for growth," said U.S. official explained. "They're asking that we deal with the [U.S. budget] deficit." The summit's European counterpart was characteristically overcasted, with each country doing its own program for economic development.

But Mitterrand's own initiative—a call for an international conference



Settling scores in Lebanon

The Israeli army, the Israeli civil region around the southern Lebanese port of Tyre was known as the "Free Triangle." During three years of occupation, an increasingly determined guerrilla war waged by local Shiite Muslims took the lives of scores of Israeli soldiers. As a result, when the Israelis abandoned the city last week—after a 10-day siege—their departure was greeted by cheering and gunfire from Lebanese—rejecting the cease-firing imposed around persons of carriers amid cries of "Hodotek! (Let's go home)!" Their jubilation was matched by that of local Muslim residents, who resented the Israeli presence. The local people danced in the streets and competed for space with drivers who tilted their horns in noisy celebration.

But, as was the case so often it more than 10 years of strife, the celebration was soon interrupted by the grim reality of sectarian struggle. Only 30 km up the coast, in the hills north and east of Haifa, determined Moslems, Druses and Palestinian militias killed the military remains left by the retreating Israelis in an orgy of score-settling, the Syrian-backed forces drove Christians from their homes, burning and looting property, destroying the houses and murdering any Christians they found. The violence was so important Lebanese Army standing by, the militia moved in behind Syrian-backed 7-86 tanks and gained control of 26 villages, routing 50,000 Christians.

It was the worst Christian defeat since September, 1952, when roughly 150,000 were driven from strongholds in the nearby Chos Mountains by Druze guerrillas. Most of the Christians fled further east to the town of Jezzine or south, seeking safety behind the new Israeli line. Said Ahmed Yemem, a Communist guerrilla in the village of Majdelyoun: "Moslem houses were sacked by the [Christian] Phalangists. Now the Moslems are taking revenge."

The Christian coalition gave rise to later recommitments. Hearing Anis Gannay, Lebanon's Maronite Christian president, angry Christian demonstrators converged outside the presidential palace in Raikouh, south of Beirut, waving placards that read "Who is responsible?" For more than a month the hard-line, anti-Syrian Phalange militia has been battling Maronite and Palestinian gunmen outside of Sidon. Then, under intense pressure from Syria, Gannay had persuaded the Phalange to withdraw, assuring Christians that the Lebanese Army would protect them.

A similar sense of betrayal is being over-
last week's *Disco* seizure of the coastal

enslave of Kharrush, just north of Sidon. Only a few days earlier, Christian militiamen had surrendered control of the region to the regular Lebanese Army in a deal supported by the Beirut and Syrian governments. One restric-

deas to outright partition. The Drem, led by Walid Jumblatt, extended their control not only to the Khazroub but to the strategic Barouk mountain ridge overlooking their traditional Chouf fiefdom as well. Some analysts called the move an attempt to set up a separate Dreme canton. Yet both Jumblatt and his Shite allies remain subject to the influence of Syrian President Hafez Assad, who opposes any partition. As



Dracaena soldiers viewing corpses in South Lebanon: rows of revenge

source reported last week that the majority of Christians from Kharrwa blamed the Phalange militia and its leader, Samir Geagea, for stirring up trouble and then fleeing to safety in Beirut. But Geagea, who led a revolt in March against Gemayel's pro-Syrian policies, withdraws reluctantly.

In fact, within hours of the Christian defeat Gbagbo underlined Gbagbo's potence status by issuing a blistering statement attacking the Syrians and vowing revenge for the carnage in the south. "What has been taken by force, by stratagem, by deceit or even by negotiations," he declared, "will be regained by force."

result, Jomblatt and Shi'ite leader Nabih Berri last week offered Gerges a new peace proposal which would allow Syrian-backed contingents of the Lebanese Army to take command of Joune—*one of the few remaining Christian strongholds*—provided the

—Die Mitternachts-Musik

THE UNITED STATES

Reagan tightens the ring

The back room of Rosen's Waldorf Hotel restaurant, the President's headquarters of the White House press corps, seemed an unlikely site for the announcement. But only because all the world's eyes were turned to the White House and the national economic market of leading indicators. In those last weeks, presidential press spokesman Larry Speakes stood behind his traveling podium and fervently defended the President's economic program against Nitrogene. The trade embargo bans all exports to—and imports from—the Central American nation, as well as port and shipping rights in the Caribbean Sea. The embargo also bans the surface. It was the President's response to last month's refusal by Congress to approve his \$1.1-billion request for aid to the Central American nations. Speakes said the President had "thoroughly considered" the situation. He said the President's Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci and Secretary of the Navy William S. Friedman, all agreed that the embargo was a necessary step to bring about a change in the situation.

Officials said that the transactions, affecting about \$179 million in two-way trade, would help keep the Sandinistas off balance. "We could bring them their knees overnight," declared Democratic House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill. "There's no question about this." Added Republican Robert Dole, the Senate majority leader, "I think it's time to get tough and stay tough." In effect, signaled by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow last week, some House Democrats, including the influential O'Neill, were reconsidering Reagan's \$16-million aid package.

Defining Reagan's definition as executive order which takes effect on May 17—U.S. officials cited Nicaragua's army building, its support for left-wing guerrillas elsewhere in Central America and its ties to Cuba and the Soviet Union. In fact, the purpose of Ortega's Moscow visit last week was apparently to seek \$500 million in aid—a trip Washington cited as evidence of the "emergency situation" that rattled the embargo.

Still, some legislators said that the U.S. action might be counterproductive. Despite a 200-per-cent inflation rate and shortages of basic consumer goods, Managua, critics insisted, would lose other foreign markets for the coffee, bananas and beef it exports—and other suppliers for its imports, chiefly machinery and spare parts. Indeed, Nicaragua is much less dependent now on trade with the United States than it was four years ago. The value of exports has dropped by almost 50 per cent, while



Ortega (right) in Moscow making his

crack with the Soviet bloc, Western Europe and other states have often been proportionally. The traditional argument against imposing embargoes is that it is not clear whether economic benefits Washington might have been able to provide in the Nicaraguan private sector—a key base of support for the Sandinistas—outweigh the economic benefits of the embargo. Sen. Frank Lautenberg (N.J.), a leading Republican Senator Mark Hatfield, the sanctions will be hampering, driving the Sandinistas "into the permanent embrace of the Russian bear." It may also set back the Contras' progress, a Latin American initiative aimed at securing a regional peace treaty.

The Malayan government, which has played an advisory role in Cambodia since the 1970s, is also a close ally of Reagan's measure. Indeed, Cambodia's Foreign Minister Ne Chhak is a former U.S. State Department official. Ne Chhak is a former U.S. State Department official. Ne Chhak is a former U.S. State Department official.

—MAREE McDONALD in Washington.

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^aSee also in last page.

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A delicate balancing act

The scene was Chequers, the country house of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and the issue was the future of troubled Northern Ireland. The prime minister of the Irish Republic, Garret FitzGerald, argued that some form of joint Anglo-Irish authority would best serve the interests of both London and Dublin in the strife-wracked province. But when Thatcher peremptorily and publicly dismissed his proposals, FitzGerald accepted the snub silently. As he later told *Weekend*: "It was better to accept the temporary disadvantage and get on with the job."

This week, as the Irish leader begins his first official visit to Ottawa, Canadians will get a closer look at the nononsense pragmatism that characterizes the Irish style. To his supporters, FitzGerald's conciliatory approach is well suited to dealing with the emotional and seemingly intractable Catholic-Protestant and Irish-English struggle in the British-ruled north. Others criticize his approach. In the *Disk*, the Irish politician, members of the opposition Fianna Fail regularly describe him as an "academic in waiting"—a pejorative

reference to his days as a lecturer in political sciences at University College, Dublin.

Still, FitzGerald's forbearance at Chequers may have been politically astute. Since the meeting last November there has been a distinct warming trend in Anglo-Irish exchanges. Although the Thatcher government rejected all three

FitzGerald's supporters admire his pragmatism; his critics dismiss him as simply an 'academic-in-waiting'

options for the future of Northern Ireland contained in the May, 1984, report of the bipartisan New Ireland Forum—unity with the north, federation and joint sovereignty—it has credited FitzGerald with making a valuable contribution to consultations. At the same time, *Weekend* has expressed its gratitude for Dublin's firm opposition to the transborder terrorism of the au-

thorized Irish Republican Army (IRA). Ireland spends three times as much per capita on Britain does on security.

Last week FitzGerald and Foreign Affairs Minister Peter Barry provided a brief political controversy when they flew to Northern Ireland and endorsed Catholic politicians in a regional election campaign. The Protestant leader, Rev. Ian Paisley, promptly denounced the trip as "another arrogant act of unwelcome cheek." And in the British House of Commons, Ulster Unionist MP Enoch Powell called it an "unbending intrusion" in the affairs of Northern Ireland. To soothe ruffled Protestant feelings in Ulster, Thatcher told the Commons that she could understand Powell's view. But British diplomatic sources insisted that she did not intend to rebuke FitzGerald and that she had been notified in advance of his visit. "After all," added one government spokesman, "he endorsed the Social Democrats, not the Sinn Féin"—the political wing of the IRA.

There is also increasing evidence that Britain is reconsidering its position on joint sovereignty. A surprise visit to Dublin by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe in March led to speculation that Thatcher's government is willing to accept an Irish veto in the security of Northern Ireland—a concession that would be a major accomplishment for

FitzGerald. Already widely respected for his old-fashioned honesty and lack of personal ambition, FitzGerald insists that, for him, "power is a means to an end," and not a prime reason for pursuing a political career.

Now 59, Ireland's current Taoiseach—the leader's title in Gaelic—was the youngest son of a northern Presbyterian minister, Mabel McConnell, and poet and revolutionary Desmond FitzGerald, who fought in the 1916 Easter uprising against British rule in Ireland. He was jailed, and later served as foreign affairs minister in Ireland's first post-independence government. The young FitzGerald wanted to enter politics after leaving university, but his father opposed the move. "He didn't want any of us to become politicians," said FitzGerald. "He didn't like the idea of any of us trading on his name."

As a result, until he was 39, FitzGerald earned his living as an economics specialist and journalist—for a time he freelanced in Dublin for the now-defunct *Manchester Star*. But after his election to the Dáil in 1968 he rose swiftly through the ranks. As foreign affairs minister (1973-77), he skillfully eased Ireland into the European Community and met amicably with Protestant and Catholic leaders, working solutions to the continuing crisis in Ulster. Later, according to the leadership of the con-



FitzGerald: A quest for modernity

servative Fin Gas, FitzGerald virtually revolutionized that party, attracting bright young recruits and moving it to the political center, winning two of the last three elections. Whether it can win again is less certain, largely because the economy remains sputtering, with unemployment at 17.5 per cent.

When FitzGerald became prime minister in 1981 he promised to "work for the resolution of the conflict between my father's and my mother's people." Since then, he has tried to get southern politicians to abandon their insistence that the six northern counties of Ulster must become part of independent Ireland. At the same time, he is trying to undermine Irish society in order to persuade northern Protestants that the south is no longer a state dominated by the Roman Catholic Church—a policy also calculated to appeal to the almost half of the country's 3.4 million inhabitants who are under 35 years old.

As well, in November, 1983, he named Paul (Blair) Hume, 54, head of one of the rock band U2 is a national panel of inquiry on youth and unemployment. His objective, he explained, is to bridge "the gap between old and young and modernize the state while retaining its traditional values." Inevitably FitzGerald: "If you don't take risks in politics, you get nowhere."

—DAVID NORTON in Dublin

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A crime that paid



Arrested can a \$7.8 million heist

When employees arrived at 1 a.m. to open the vault, the money trucks quickly overpowered them, handcuffed them to a forklift truck and drove off in an armored car with \$18 million—the second-largest cash haul (after the \$1-billion New York heist of the Security Armed Car-Corridor Co. in December, 1982) in U.S. history. New York police said that the robbers, despite leaving another \$80 million behind in the vault, had to share their lootwork. "I doubt when we get them, they'll be Rhode scholars," said chief of detectives Nicholas Nastro. "But at this point, they look pretty professional."

Islam's outlaw sect

Fanatical, unpredictable and often violent, devotees of the outlawed *Muridiyya* Balanta sect are feared by residents of mainly Muslim northern Nigeria. During the past five years Nigerian authorities have blamed the *Muridiyya* for a series of murderous religious riots. The first, in the town of Kano in 1980, claimed more than 2,000 lives, including that of the sect's founder, Abul Madani Umaru. A "terrorist" movement, he claimed, who claimed to be a prophet of Allah. (Rejected by traditional Muslims, Umaru condemned his sect, adopting the title *Muridiyya*, a name meaning messenger of the cause.) *Muridiyya* sects died in various clashes in 1982 and 1984. Then, but work violence erupted again after police raided *Muridiyya* headquarters in the northeastern town of Gboko in an attempt to arrest the sect's regional leader, Yusufu Adams. Angered by the action, disciples went on a three-day rampage, looting local residents to death with machetes and fighting off police with stolen guns. In retaliation, powerful armed *Muridiyya* leaders followed and burned them to death. The official casualty toll: 300 dead and more than 500 wounded. By week's end, with police patrolling the streets and 145 alleged *Muridiyya* extremists in jail, life in Gboko had returned to normal. But the authorities apparently failed to achieve their main objective: the capture of the elusive Yusufu Adams.

Minority troubles

Among the myriad problems Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi inherited from his assassinated grandfather, Indira, last November, unrest among regional and religious minorities is the most intractable. Last week, as he marked the end of his first six months in power, Gandhi faced challenges from disenchanted groups in two parts of his often fractious country. In the western state of Gujarat, police arrested hundreds in the recent Hindu-Muslim riots, protesting a government plan to increase the number of jobs and college places reserved for the lower castes. Seventy-three people

died in earlier disturbances, and after last week's rioting thousands of civil servants began an indefinite strike to protest alleged police brutality. In the state capital of Gandhinagar, government offices closed and authorities cancelled celebrations for Gujarat's 25th anniversary of statehood. Meanwhile, in the northern state of the Punjab, where Sikhs are agitating for independence, gunmen killed a local leader of Gandhi's Congress (I) Party in the town of Khanna—just two hours after New Delhi propaganda officials held talks with Sikh leaders about the Punjab's future. Even before the assassination, Gandhi had released several imprisoned Sikhs and ordered an inquiry into the anti-Sikh riots that followed his father's murder by two Sikh bodyguards. But last week's killing signaled trouble for the reconciliation effort.

A day of anger

In South Africa riot police used tear gas and dogs to disperse a crowd of black trade unions clashing freedom wings. In Chile police fired live gas at union members demonstrating against the military government. And in South Korea 2,000 students calling for free trade unions hurled stones and fire bombs at a police riot squad. Although there were peaceful celebrations in Moscow and Peking, the traditional May 1 holiday honoring labor was often overshadowed last week by violence. The most dramatic confrontation occurred in Poland, where workers in Warsaw and several other cities paraded in the streets waving the banner of the outlawed trade union Solidarity. In Warsaw police batted off an illegal parade of 30,000 demonstrators, and later arrested several people, including leading dissident Lech Kwasniewski, who was jailed for three months. In Ghana, police stopped Solidarity founder Seth Ofori in joining an official May Day parade. But some Solidarity supporters managed to infiltrate the procession, and demonstrators later fought a street battle with riot police, wounding riot police. Meanwhile, in Eritrea authorities arrested—and later released—two U.S. diplomats whom it accused of taking part in a pro-Solidarity demonstration. Branding the charge "indiscreet," American officials promptly expelled four U.S.-based Polish diplomats in retaliation—sending U.S.-Polish relations to a new low.

Witness to murder



Quinsan 'singing lady'

The witness was frightened but determined. "I am scared to death," she said, "but I am ready." With those words Rebecca Quinsan, 32, agreed to take the stand in a Manila courtroom last week, her trembling testimony she had seen a uniformed soldier shoot Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino as he descended the steps of his plane at Manila airport on Aug. 26, 1983. Quinsan's eyes were accurate, the first by a civilian, was a stunning rebuke for suspended armed forces chief Police Gen. and his others on trial in connection with Aquino's murder. In fact, fearing military reprisals, Quinsan—who became known as "the singing lady" after her oral two-hour at the airport and later in court—had been recruited as well. Her story changed her mind, she explained to reporters, after lawyers persuaded her that the best protection was to tell the truth

An unlikely railway chief

By Peter C. Newman

Surely, the most unlikely chief of executive officer of any major Canadian corporation is J. Maurice LeClair, 60, 60 St. Clair St. (L3-1000) from Ottawa—the former bartender and dealer of securities appointed last week as chairman of Canadian National.

He came by his unusual background honestly. The son of a hotel keeper (the old Canada Hotel in Waterloo in the Eastern Townships of Quebec), young Maurice began serving beer when he was 8. Until he was married, 17 years later, he had never lived in a house, only in a hotel. After studying medicine at McGill and the University of Minnesota, he decided to specialize in internal medicine and hospital management. He became a fellow at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn. Following a lengthy stint as dean of medicine at the Université de Sherbrooke, he quit to become a civil servant at the deputy minister level. In 1976, Ottawa's most important department, health and welfare, Treasury Board and science and technology.

How all that has fitted him to run a railroad is not clear, but he does, and CN under his direction (he became president in 1981) has prospered as never before. With Canada's 12th-largest company, with 60,000 employees, CN last year made a \$500-million profit—an increase of \$90 million over 1983, which itself was a record year. LeClair is predicting a net of \$200 million for 1985.

More interesting is the intangible conviction that a sound, lucrative subsidiary—the newly modernized hotel chain, the communications subsidiary, the oil and gas operations—are being fattened mainly so that they can be sold off in what would be the largest single act of privatization by the Mulroney government. LeClair himself is wary of the prospect, not for any ideological reasons but because he would have to see his fatted calves disappear. "Privatization can be selective," he told me during an interview. "It would not have to be the case. It could be the hotel or something else. But that 'something else' at this moment is the most valuable asset of the company, and we have to think twice before selling those entities which contribute so much to keeping the rail operation alive and healthy."

The company's most serious problem is how to raise the \$10 billion required to complete the capital projects to which it is committed for the next decade, mainly extensions of rail lines in

the West, including double-tracking through the Rocky Mountains. CN already has a \$9.7-billion debt load and, despite its favorable credit ratings, cannot find much more long-term financing. "That's where privatization may come in," says LeClair. "We do not have access to equity capital (CN is 70% owned) and our shareholders (Ottawa owns 100% of it) do not want to give us any. So we're on our own, but we must find a way to equity finance."



LeClair: the lefted calves

Founded out of more than 200 rail ways in the 1850s, CN has become Canada's largest Crown corporation, but, unlike many of the others, it contributes cash to the federal treasury—\$40 million last year. It was highly significant that LeClair was one of the Crown corporation heads to survive the Mulroney government's gutting.

CN is currently undergoing its most fundamental transformation since the dissolution of the 1950s, nowhere more so than in the hotel business. In place of the architecturally magnificent but droughty and inefficient railway hotels, the company is building a modern chain of eight hotels, including a new one for the growing market of luxury-savvy travelers. The completion of this transformation is downtown Toronto's new 600-room L'Hotel, an elegantly traditional, world-class unit which rents rooms from \$55 to \$590 a night. It features a restaurant, room bar service, designer toiletries, a whirlpool overlooking Toronto harbor and direct walk-up calls in several languages—a long way from the train wheels that used to scuttle travelers out of a bad sleep in the old days. According to manager Peter Howard (an 18-year *Milwaukee* veteran), occupancy rates have exceeded expectations, with fewer than one-fifth of the guests being casual travelers.

The lack of L'Hotel's clientele comes from deception to the Metro Canadian Four Seasons graduate named Daniel Oberlander, who is showcasing a \$100-million refurbishing of CN hotels in Ottawa (Chateau Laurier), Edmonton (Hotel Macdonald), Vancouver (Hotel Vancouver), Montreal (Alopes Hilton), San Francisco (Hotel Vancouver), New Orleans (Hotel Beauséjour) and St. John's (Hotel Newfoundland). CN's former hotels in Halifax, Winnipeg and Saskatoon have been sold off.

At the moment CN is not for sale, but the best bet may be the 40% it is to go "right now," says LeClair, "we are about three to five years away from the greatest return on stock of our several companies." He cites CN Exploration, CN Communications and the hotels in particular (CN Exploration operates \$28 oil fields in Western Canada, which produce 2,500 barrels of oil a day; CN Communications is in partnership with CR to outfit field for long-distance telephone services).

CN may not be for sale, but the former bartender is too much closer to the customer at the door not to want the odds on anything being possible. In the manner of a doctor handing out an Aspirin, he promises the ultimate corporate truth: "Everything has its price."

Riding the rails of success

By Bruce Wallace

For Laurent Beaudin, the youthful chief executive officer of Montreal-based Bombardier Inc., a heady pastime is spelling a *Pleasure Plus* snowmobile across the hilly terrain of the Eastern Townships near his home in Knowlton, Que. "Last year my wife and I got at least 1,200 km on our snowmobiles," the 47-year-old Beaudin recently told *Money*. "We like to spend entire weekends on our snowmobiles." Frequenting a more appropriate pursuit for the head of Bombardier would be difficult—the company's \$30-Dow transcon and the *Transcon* snowmobile have been interchangeable to a generation of Canadians. But since introducing the recreational snowmobile in 1936, the family-owned firm has been transformed into a world-class manufacturer of mass transit rail equipment and military vehicles. Last week Beaudin announced that sales in 1984 topped the half-billion-dollar mark.

Now, the company is preparing to improve on its already impressive sales record in Canada and abroad. Bombardier spokesmen say they expect to supply the subway cars for the planned \$400-million expansion of the Montreal subway system. At the same time, officials at Via Rail Canada Inc. in Montreal have indicated that the company will purchase new passenger cars from Bombardier for transcontinental use. And just 15 weeks ago, after 30 months of negotiations, Bombardier landed a \$30-million deal to sell 2,000 half-ton, 11-ft four-wheel-drive wheelsets to the Belgian Army, opening up the possibility of future contracts to other North Atlantic Treaty Organization armies. Said Ben Seider, an investment analyst with Edgewood, Seaboard Inc., a Montreal-based brokerage firm, "With good earnings growth and the potential for several more lucrative contracts, Bombardier is on a roll."

The major obstacles to Bombardier's progress may be political developments that threaten the company's export base. Currently, Bombardier sells more than half its products abroad and has manufacturing plants in the United States and Austria. But U.S. President Ronald Reagan promised in his February budget to cut \$2.5 billion on transit subsidies to U.S. cities, hampering the

ability of municipalities to buy Bombardier's goods. As well, events have been escalating in official circles in Ottawa that the government may reduce the role of the Export Development Corp. (EDC), a Crown agency that subsidizes Canadian exports. That action would directly affect companies such as Bom-

bardier cars to the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) of New York. By 1989, the largest Canadian mass transit export contract ever won. And last September Beaudin signed an agreement in principle to manufacture 2,000 Elan snowmobiles in China.

With Bombardier's long-term outlook dependent on export sales, Beaudin has been vocal about his concern that the federal government's export policies may tamper with the MTA. Addressing Toronto's Canadian Club last week, the city's Royal York Hotel two weeks ago, Beaudin said that Bombardier's export success depends on aggressive marketing backed by low-cost government financing. In November, 1982, the MTA loaned \$10 million to New York City \$150 million at 8.5 percent for the purchase of the company's subway cars. He declared Beaudin: "Without the financing guarantee made by our government, the New York sale might not have occurred."

Apart from its high-growth exporting drive, Bombardier has succeeded because of its strategy of buying and adapting proven technology rather than developing its own—a tactic adopted in the late 1970s. The Superliner passenger cars from Bombardier were designed by Pullman Transportation Co. Inc. of Chicago. The Elan was created by Volkswagenwerk AG of Germany. And the subway cars destined for New York are designed by Kawasaki Heavy Industries Ltd. of Japan. Added Beaudin: "There is no need to reinvent the wheel."

That approach, Beaudin said, is a direct result of Bombardier's setbacks with the Light, Rapid and Comfortable (LRC) passenger train. The LRC was first developed in the early 1970s by a consortium of Canadian companies, and the technology was purchased and refined

further by Bombardier. The sale of 31 LRC trains to Via Rail in 1978 was intended to lead to further export sales. But the LRC became an embarrassment for Bombardier. A Canadian Transport Commission study released last year said that during a six-month trial period ending in February, 1984, the LRC had "the worst safety-record of record of any dated innovative equipment by Canadian National."

Bombardier blames the poor record of the LRC on inadequate maintenance and on the usual "debugging" process associated with new technology. According to analyst Robert J. Beaudin, Bombardier was forced to rush the LRC into service without proper testing. "Said Beaudin: "They just took whatever came off the production line and attached it to the existing rolling stock."

Company executives insist that the LRC will be running trouble-free by 1987. But it is clear that the technological difficulties have discouraged potential buyers. Said Beaudin: "We are better off to avoid research and development and instead buy proven technology."

A series of technical and political problems caused by the New York transit deal have proven disastrous to deal with. During a 30-day test run of 61 prototype cars last March, subway operators and that, in comparison with the Japanese models after which they were patterned, the Bombardier cars looked "soft and mushy." The problem was resolved two weeks ago by reworking the car's electronic circuitry, and New York transit officials said that delivery of the vehicles would resume "within days." Beaudin has also successfully deflected criticism that many of the jobs created by the New York subway contract will be situated in the United States. The contract with the MTA stipulates that the trains must be manufactured with 40-percent U.S. content, Beaudin says.

Sell, the closing of the huge New York deal was a major step for the company's early days as a small family firm. J. Armand Bombardier—Beaudin's father-in-law—was an inventor who lived to work in his garage near his

home in Valcourt, 89 km east of Montreal. Bombardier built the first snowmobile in 1932, when he was only 15. A converted car engine with a propeller mounted on the side, the vehicle could traverse Quebec's nearly impassable rural roads during the winter months. Bombardier continued to refine his idea, and by 1935 he had designed a snowmobile with rubber-encased drive wheels and track, the basic system still used in 1983. L'Archange Bombardier Ltd. (Bombardier Snowmobile Ltd.) went into business.

The company's first export sales took place in the mid-1930s, and Beaudin, who was born in the town of Lacar

facturers, and the energy crisis was cutting into snowmobile use. In response, Beaudin decided to diversify the company's operations. In 1974 Bombardier began manufacturing mass transit equipment, encouraged by the Montreal Urban Community, which was looking for local contractors to build subway cars for the city's expanding Metro line. When the \$11.7-million contract was finished, an absence of domestic customers for mass transit vehicles forced Beaudin to aim at the export market. In 1979 he recruited an international marketing expert, 10-year-old Chris Mowbray, from the first-year department of engineering, trade and commerce. Mowbray, now a marketing vice-president, developed a sales network extending through Latin America, Asia and Africa, and quickly won mass transit contracts in Portland, Ore., Mexico City and New York City.

Mowbray's move to Bombardier was one more public indication of the company's close ties to various levels of government. For example, in a move often an indicator of Canadian business, former prime minister Pierre Trudeau lobbied to win Bombardier a transit contract during a visit to the state capital of Singapore. Said David Stephenson, director of institutional research for the Montreal-based brokerage firm Geoffrion, Levesque Inc.: "They have been very active in lobbying up to government."

Bombardier is also taking steps to improve its leverage in the United States by opening an office in Washington later this month. Company officials say that they hope that effective lobbying will help protect their outlets in the U.S. market, which now accounts for more than half of Bombardier's urban

transit sales.

Despite the threat of export financing problems, Beaudin says he is eagerly entering into new contracts that will help the company maintain its upward momentum. Last week Bombardier shares closed on the Toronto Stock Exchange at \$28, up from \$18 in February. That is a clear signal that investors at least think Bombardier's snowmobile-riding president is on the right track. □



Beaudin warning of the need for export financing



Train car for export, the truck (below) snowmobile, subway cars



Station just outside Quebec City, joined the company as controller in 1983 and became its president three years later at 38. A trained chartered accountant, he marketed the snowmobile as a recreational vehicle—a tactic that by the late 1960s resulted in huge profits. Said Beaudin: "We created a new sport in snowmobiling."

Yet by 1970 the company was competing for sales with 300 snowmobile man-

Selling health and money

By Ian Austin

The company's promotion is simple and appealing: Herbalife dietary supplements can make a person slim and wealthy. And Mark Hughes, the handsome 36-year-old founder of Herbalife International Inc. of Los Angeles, Calif., appears to be selling his creation. Hughes regularly purchases two- and three-hour time slots on U.S. cable networks to promote the life-buffs gospel of trim legs and fat waist. The show resembles fundamentalist revival meetings, complete with testimonials from thin, rich customers. And they work worldwide: sales last year were \$102 million, and the company plans to exceed \$1 billion in 1989. But before it achieves that, Herbalife will have to leap several hurdles. Next month lawyers for Herbalife Canada Ltd., the company's wholly owned Calgary-based subsidiary, will appear in a Montreal court to face 34 charges of misrepresenting products and misleading customers. And in California company attorneys are battling a consumer-protection lawsuit launched in March by three state attorneys.

Officials on both sides of the border

are attempting to prove that Herbalife's medical claims for its products are false. In addition, the California attorney general's office is charging that the company is an illegal "pyramid chain"—or pyramid-selling operation that distributes its products directly to customers, who in turn are encouraged to become salesmen. Said David Adkin, a lawyer for Herbalife in Washington, of the charges: "I am not saying their positions are without merit. I am saying we have not done a good enough job of explaining who we are and what we are doing."

The Canadian charges follow a six-month investigation by Health and Welfare Canada. Many of them relate to Herbalife's recommendations on the proper use of Formula 1, its main weight reduction product. Victoria Bailey, the regional director of the health protection branch in Montreal, said the investigation indicated that Formula 1 was safe



Hughes, evangelistic lawyer

and that it met Canadian requirements for a powdered milk substitute if users followed directions. Added Bailey: "It will not hurt people if they are not safe already." But the so-called Herbalife Career Book, which new salesmen must purchase as part of a package containing samples of Formula 1 and related products for about \$90, stresses that a variety of other dietary products should be consumed along with Formula 1.

A 1982 edition of another Herbalife career guide is at issue in the California lawsuit. Steve Richardson, chief of the food and drug branch of the California state department of health services, told Adkin's that his department's concerns relate to claims made about Herbalife's Formula 2. Richardson said the book says that it can cure more than 80 ailments, including anorexia, nerves, herpes, gout and

sterility. Said Richardson: "They call it the miracle worker. They say you can take the product to lose weight if you are too weighty or if you are too lightweight to gain weight." According to Adkin, the Herbalife book has been replaced by editions that do not make these claims. He acknowledged that Herbalife has not recalled the 1982 edition, but he said that unnecessary language salesmen are not using it. California officials disagree. Declared Richardson: "It is remarkable that a rather broad section of the population is participating in this. We would think that common sense would prevail."

According to Herbalife spokesmen, the sales here is indeed broad. Hughes claims to have attracted 700,000 customers—or "distributors," as the company prefers to call them—in the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom and Canada. Some distributors, such as Calgary's Larry Skine, boast \$100,000 monthly incomes from Herbalife sales. The success of Hughes's venture is evident. Last year he paid his top executives a million in cash for a mansion in the prestigious Los Angeles suburb of Bel Air.

And he is fighting the charges against him. In December, Herbalife sued the U.S. Food and Drug Administration and the U.S. department of health and human services—both of which had criticized the company—charging that government regulators were waging a "conspiracy trial by publicity" against it. Said Hughes: "What we [are selling] is a good nutrition. I know what our products stand for and I would care less what the media thinks." □

The spring housing fever

By Shona McKay

Only a year ago Chuck Beesone, 36, a Halifax drama, and his wife, Donna, 30, a part-time salesclerk, reluctantly moved out of the house they own here and into a rental house. But late last month, when one-year mortgages fell to 10.6 per cent—the lowest rates since August, 1979—the Beesonas, who have a 10-month-old daughter and a combined income of \$36,000, joined thousands of other Canadians who suddenly began to give up their real estate findings. "Before, we knew we could never meet the carrying charges on a house," said Donna Beesone. "But now we can. It fits wonderful!"

Across the country, home hunters entered the market last week, and many Canadians who already own a home hesitated to renew their mortgages at lower rates. After rising briefly to 12.5 per cent in March, mortgage rates have been sliding for two months. Lenders are now offering rates ranging from 10.5 per cent to 12 per cent for periods of one to five years. And in spite of a small rise last week in the benchmark Bank of Canada rate—up to which mortgage rates are based—in 1987 per cent, basis and trust companies did not alter their rates. The lower rates have led to increased buying activity and home sales. Said Albert DeFebré, 42, a Windsor home builder and president of the 4,000-member Canadian Home Builders' Association (CHBA): "I have not seen such a healthy climate for mortgage buyers in years."

The lower rates have also created another round of home-swapomania among lenders who are competing for a share of the yearly \$20-billion residential mortgage market. In April, the Toronto-Dominion Bank and London, Ont.-based Canada Trust introduced a no-month mortgage at 9.5 per cent—the first time in seven years that a mortgage has been available for less than 10 per cent. Then, in a move that indicated that stability was returning to the financial markets, several institutions, including the Bank

of Montreal and Royal Trust Co. Ltd., launched seven-year mortgage plans at 13 per cent, while the London Life Insurance Co. of London, Ont., has a 10-year mortgage at 13.25 per cent, marking the first time since 1975 that a term loan (five five years) has been



The Beesonas: falling rates and the chance to own a house

that commercial lending to business is still sluggish. Mortgage lending is one of the "very few areas of asset growth at the moment," said Peter Carter, vice-president of mortgage services at the Royal Bank of Canada. "Banks are going to become increasingly aggressive as the mortgage slide goes on."

For readers and lenders the benefits of lower rates are already evident. That sales have increased 35 per cent over the past four months at Toronto-based Royal LePage Residential Real Estate Services Ltd. said Gerald Grumelick, George Grumelick's assistant. "Reduced mortgage rates mean that more people can afford to buy."

Indeed, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp. estimates that a decrease of one percentage point in mortgage rates increases the number of potential home buyers by 50 per cent. The house builders' association predicts \$400-million in new sales in 1988, up from \$345,000 last year. Said DeFebré: "Home builders are beginning to feel that the light at the end of the tunnel does not belong to a train."

Even in Western Canada, where the real estate market has not yet recovered from the recession, there are signs of a new bullishness. A large number of low-priced freehold properties are still coming onto the market, and, according to Frank Johns, executive vice-president of the Calgary Real Estate Board, "Sales are up 40 per cent over last year and we are expecting an April peak year over with sales of over \$1 billion in 1987."

Experts in the real estate and housing trades expect that mortgage rates will continue to decline slightly over the next few months as the banks' buyers, there is at least one drawback to lower rates—rising home prices as demand increases. In the past four months prices have risen two to four per cent nationally. And most experts are forecasting a seven-per-cent increase in prices by the end of the year. That same forecast has already crept up that figure. In Halifax, for one, prices have increased by 12 per cent over the past 12 months. Said DeFebré: "What the consumer pays in a quarter percentage point decrease in mortgage rates will be eaten up in higher prices." He added, "It may sound self-serving, but now is the time to buy." □

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A crisis among the giants

By Michael Sauter

The deal was another sign of the poor financial health of Canada's department store industry. Last week, giant Toronto-based developer Cadillac Fairview Corp. Ltd. announced that it was buying Woodward-based Woodward Stores Ltd. for about \$270 million in cash and shares. But Cadillac plans to sell back immediately Woodward's 55 stores, all located in British Columbia and Alberta, to a new private firm headed by Grant MacLaren, Woodward's current president and great-grandson of founder Charles Woodward. For Cadillac, the attraction of the deal was Woodward's end niche assets, which consist of three shopping centres, a major interest in two other malls and some valuable land in downtown Vancouver. For the ailing Woodward's, headed by chairman Charles Woodward, the deal promised to bring in badly needed cash to enable it to update and streamline its operations in the increasingly competitive retail industry.

The 50-year-old Woodward's chain is one main victim of the recession-bred economy of the West, which is only just beginning to recover. The company's profits plummeted to \$2.7 million on sales of \$1.1 billion last year after peaking at a record high of \$22.6 million on sales of \$1 billion in 1980. But Woodward's, one of Canada's five largest department store chains (along with The Bay, Eaton's, Sears and Simpsons), is also a victim of changing consumer habits which are threatening to turn large department stores into the dinosaurs of the retail industry. The hardest hit are Simpsons Ltd. and The Bay, both owned by the Hudson's Bay Co. of Winnipeg, which are suffering from falling profits and stagnant sales. Simpsons Ltd., with 33 stores in eastern Canada, lost last year \$22.5 million, up from a \$30.3 million loss in 1983. The Bay, with 261 stores, saw its profit fall last year to \$12.8 million from \$30.5 million in 1983.

All the major department store chains are scrambling to restructure the market share that has been slipping away from them in the past decade by radically revising their corporate strategies. But so far results have been mixed. Declared James Bullock, head of Cadillac Fairview Shopping Centres, "If the current trend continues and the department stores do not address their problems, then clearly there will be casualties."

What is damaging department stores most is what negatively made them attractive to customers—their broad selection of merchandise. Specialty stores, with their limited but well-stocked

racks and their ability to respond more quickly to changing demand, have been attracting customers with their more personalized service. According to Statistics Canada, the share of total retail sales held by department stores fell to 16.3 per cent in 1983 from 15.5 per cent in 1976. Had Len Kabas, president of Toronto-based Kabas Research Consultants "The typical department store does not know whether to carry Dr. Scholl's for my grandmother or my 16-year-old son," added Len Thomas, president of Thomas Con-

to offer credit, removed one key advantage. And the proliferation of enclosed shopping centres destroyed the "one-stop" shopping monopoly of department stores and led to the rise of these most potent competitors, the specialty chain stores.

The design of a mall—with a department store at each end and dozens of specialty stores in between—was intended to create a shopper's haven. Instead, according to John Winter, senior associate at Clayton Research Associates of Toronto, "by setting up in malls the department stores provided, for their own convenience." Added Edward Topping, executive vice-president of Toronto-based Grafco Group Ltd., which



Toronto Simpsons store, one of the victims of changing consumer habits

lents Inc. of Vancouver, "Department stores exist not to sell but to change the way people. They must go after a specific market segment."

When Timothy Eaton opened the first department store in Canada in 1859 he introduced a revolutionary way of shopping. The concept of "one-stop" stores with a huge variety of merchandise under one roof struck a responsive note with consumers. At the same time, rapid expansion and volume buying enabled the stores to offer lower-priced, quality goods. Coupled with such services as free delivery, credit cards and guaranteed returns, "they had an unbeatable merchandising concept," Kabas said.

But in the past 55 years the big department store chains have lost most of the competitive advantages they once enjoyed. The advent of bank credit cards in the 1960s, which enabled all retailers

operates such men's clothing chains as Eddie and Jack Fraser. "Specialty stores in a mall can attract customers more easily than department stores because their wide-open storefronts, blaring music and fancy window displays are right in the consumer's path."

Department stores have also suffered because they have been slow to adapt to changes in consumer attitudes and buying habits. According to retailing experts, in the 1960s and 1970s consumers wanted to buy things and style and not mere products. With their attention to presentation and their highly selective choice of merchandise, specialty stores were better able to give them the latest "look." And because they concentrated on fewer lines with a wider selection, they were also gradually able to match the buying power of the department stores and offer the same low prices.



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As well, specialty chains entered in the growing postwar population of singles and small families. Said Gerry Staines, an analyst with Staines Research in Toronto: "Demographic trends have shifted away from the larger families that are the traditional department store customers."

Many of the specialty chains are also better managed than department stores because they are often run by the entrepreneur who started them. Dyles Ltd. of Toronto, for one, which operates 1,100 stores under 13 names—including Brasse, Polvereder and the Steel Men—has grown by buying other specialty chains but keeping their original owners on as the management.

At first, department stores reacted to the rise of specialty stores and their own loss of market share by attempting to retain their traditional broad selection of goods. Rather than drop unprofitable lines, they offered fewer items in such category. Said Kubas: "This reinforced the perception that they had limited selection." Then, when sales continued to decline, in an attempt to cut costs department stores started to lay off staff and hire more part-time workers. As a result, large stores now have a reputation for slow service and staff with inadequate product knowledge, said Mary Jane Polchek, a retail analyst with Merrill Lynch Canada Inc., a Toronto-based brokerage house. "This serves to infuriate the customer and frustrate the employee," she said.

With their employees fearful for their jobs, the traditionally unionized stores have recently become the target of certification drives by organized labor. Last year the 30,000-member Retail, Wholesale and Department Store union organized 18 discounter and six Eaton's stores in Ontario. In November 1,500 Eaton's workers went on strike to get their first contract—a dispute that is still not settled.

But despite a slow start, department stores are beginning to fight back. Said James Kay, chairman of Dyles: "The department stores are still a very potent force in retailing. They are reorganizing themselves in order to hold their market share, if not increase it." Department stores are finally dropping their less profitable merchandise lines. Hardware, fabrics, records and sporting goods are being phased out in favor of a high-profit items such as fashion, cosmetics and jewelry. In some cases low-profit areas are being turned over to chain store competitors who can manage them better. Toronto-based Classic Bookshops, for one, operates book departments for Sears stores in British Columbia and Sears Roebuck Ltd. of Toronto runs the confectionery counters at a number of Eaton's stores.

Some department stores—notably



Woodward: much-needed cash flow

Toronto-based Sears Canada, which operates 74 stores nationally, as well as Eaton's, with 118 stores—was being successfully reorganized by copying the specialty stores and inserting their internal boutiques. Departmental stores in the United States, such as Macy's of New York and Cincinnati-based Federated Department Stores, which runs Bloomingdale's, have already happily switched to business-style apparel lines.

For its part, Sears Canada has just completed refurbishing its store in the Square One shopping centre in Mississauga, Ont. Called the "New Sears," the store is part of the "store of the future" concept developed by its parent company, Sears Roebuck of Chicago. Said Robert Knox, vice-president of public affairs for Sears Canada: "It involved reimagining thousands of our traditional merchandise items and getting rid of ones that were not selling."

Frederick Eaton, chairman of Eaton's, one of the chains that has successfully adapted to modern retailing, dismisses suggestions that huge department stores will become obsolete. He warned Eaton: "The industry may be having some trouble, but it is still tremendously viable." The new ownership team at Woodward's is counting on that.

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PEOPLE

Vancouver-based singer, songwriter and songwriter **Ann Mortimer**, 37, says that she does not manage to get home often, but when she does she writes. Currently on a nomadic tour that has taken her from Pemberton, B.C., to Singapore to Pinburgh in northern Scotland and back to Vancouver, Mortimer is performing this week on the Imperial Room of Toronto's Royal York Hotel and is scheduled to entertain in Guelph, Ont., Halifax, Saskatoon and Calgary before the end of May. "I am touring more this year than usual," she said. "But I am just starting to write a new one-woman show which will open at the Neptune Theatre in Halifax in the fall, and I have some nice offers to write for films." Claiming that writing "is pretty much what I do," the author of the TV special *Down to Earth*, the children's TV series *Scavenger* and the songs on her new album, *Bright Encounters*, acknowledges that she is a perfectionist. "It is a bit of a problem sometimes."



Mortimer, Burns (below) is a nomadic tour and a modelling contract in Mauritius

Musical director and television personality **Paul Shaffer**, 26, who performs on the talk show *Late Night with David Letterman*, left his native Thunder Bay, Ont., in 1975 and moved to New York, where he played piano and acted in *Saturday Night Live* for five years. "New York trip," he said, "is a kid from a small town in Canada trying to assimilate as best he can, and survive." A keyboard artist who has recorded with such musical artists as **Yoko Ono** and **Diana Ross**, Shaffer participated in the Canadian Northern Lights for Africa Project recording of *There Are Not Enough* and co-hosted this year's *U-Know Awards* (renamed *CAN*) with Rough Trade's **Carole Pope**. Both engagements were "terrible," he said, claiming that he misses his family but

not the weather in Thunder Bay. Shaffer and he was impressed with the performers on the awards show and with the *CAN* winners. "They are all like writing and acting and maybe music" For now, the says, "We will just have to wait and see."



Glennar has a prize, awarded by Vancouver Grade 9 student **Tiffany Burns**, 14, after a hectic trip to Aspen, where she played first in the North American final of the **John Cabot** contest. In Aspen, Burns introduced to the international model's life included rising at dawn for photo sessions, racing through a busy daily schedule that left no time for sunbathing and losing 22 lb after a temporary illness. In June Burns goes to Mauritius for the contest's world finale, and if she wins her parents will decide whether to allow her to work around the world collecting her prize, a \$200,000 modelling contract. "I do not think they will agree too readily," said Burns, who has reservations about the prospect. "I like modelling better than school," says the 11 student at

Hilfside Secondary School, who plays oboe with the Vancouver Youth Symphony Orchestra. "But I am also interested in lots of other stuff. Art, stuff, trans-continental."

like writing and acting and maybe music" For now, the says, "We will just have to wait and see."

Former historian and educator **Max George Stansley**, 77, who has been New Brunswick's lieutenant-governor since 1985, drew "a little sketch" at the bottom of his 1984 memoirs on the flag design—a sketch that was later approved by the House of Commons in a 50 to 74 vote and adopted as Canada's flag on Feb. 15, 1995. Flag expert and former Liberal MP **John Mulcaire** requested the memo as he was the great Canadian flag debate was at fever pitch on Parliament Hill. Celebrating the flag's 20th birthday, Matheson and Stansley opened a 50-paving Maple Leaf flag exhibition by artist **Charles Pocher** at Toronto's Ontario Science Centre last week. Recalling the flag fever of 50 years ago, Stansley said, "I know it would take 15 to 20 years for my design to gain general acceptance." Explaining that his design was based on his premise that a flag should have simplicity and embody the national symbol, Stansley pointed out that Canada has two national symbols—the maple leaf and the beaver. "I always thought that the maple leaf was the better symbol," he said. "After all, you can't reproduce a beaver so that it is recognizable."

—REPORTED BY BETTE LANGELOTTI

Pocher (left), Stansley: a maple leaf and a beaver



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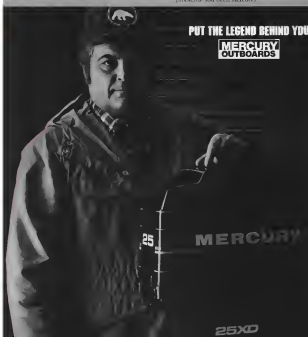
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Yanman scoring goal against Czechs: Canada's remarkable showing in the tournament caught the nation by surprise

SPORTS

A fleeting glimpse of gold

By Ray MacGregor

There was a moment between the second and third periods of last Friday's world hockey championship gold-medal game that said it all. The two teams, Canada and Czechoslovakia, were in their respective dressing rooms. The home-team team in the Prague Sportovní Hala was about 3-0 on a spectacular short-handed goal by left winger Jiri Belja, his third of the game. The official Canadian game plan dictated on a string from an untested winger in the dressing room: staff bowler Mario Lemieux, the seldom 19-year-old puck magician from Quebec. If Canada was going to recover and win, everyone in the room knew that it would probably be accomplished by Lemieux, the star rookie of the Pittsburgh Penguins and the heart of a suddenly remarkable Team Canada High in the rafters of the arena, someone put an English-language tape into the public address system, in small tribute to the 50 or so Canadians scattered through the crowd of more than 14,000. Ironically, the selection was an

old Stanley Brothers tune. As the chorus of *Let It Be Me* blared down into the dressing rooms, both Lemieux and Belja knew that it would only be one of them.

In the end, it was Belja and Czechoslovakia, 5-3 on a fourth goal that was arguably offside and a fifth into an empty Canadian net. As the final horn heralded the Czechs as the 1985 world champions, Belja, about to be named the player of the game, braced his stick into the crowd. Lemieux, about to be named the all-star center of the second team of the eight-nation tournament, silently took off his sweater and handed it to a Czech player, who seemed more delighted with the gift than with the gold medal. Then Head coach, Lemieux skated toward the Canadian bench, where Toronto Maple Leaf captain Rick Ware, who had

scored the second goal and missed on what would have been a critical fourth, tried to put the outcome in perspective. Said Ware, "We got a silver medal, and that's second best in the world."

Indeed it was. Canada's remarkable showing in the all-but-forgotten tournament caught the nation virtually by surprise. The collection of National Hockey League players from the few teams that do not make the league's playoffs and additions from teams quickly eliminated were given little chance of winning a bronze medal, let alone playing for the gold. But reflecting a dramatic renaissance of the Canadian game—highlighted by victories in the 1984 Canada Cup, one of the last three world junior championships and the 1983 invitation to the 1984 Olympic Games—the current Team Canada advanced to the medal round and deliv-

Lemieux: puck magician



ed the favored Soviet Union 3-1 last week to set up the final. Pat Riggin, the Washington Capitals goalie who was outstanding in Prague, said of his teammates, "We're this lunch-bucket group...32 goals who probably have never won anything since peewee hockey, and most of us will never win anything again."

The 32 players—including a few stars like Lemieux and Detroit's Steve Yzerman but basically made up of such unknowns as Doug Ladner, Bruce Kennedy, Larry Murphy and Stan Smyl—were proud to be called "Team Forgotten." And until their stunning upset of the defending champion Soviets, they were. But now they are likely to be remembered as the first Canadian team to win a silver medal at the world championships since the Gold Series in 1960. The 1960 Soviet Stars of British Columbia, in 1981 in Geneva, was the last team to win the gold.

But the 1985 team was full of surprises, not the least of which was the mostly Lemieux himself. Alan Eagleson, the executive director of the NHL Players' Association who served as team manager, said that the two most successful negotiations of his long career were "first, getting Mario to come over here and, second, getting him to stay." Lemieux's participation had been questioned since 1982 when the then highly rated player refused to take part in an international tournament because an injury might jeopardize his professional prospects. After a sensational professional debut this season, Lemieux was still wary of joining Team Canada, but he finally relented. Then, after only three days in Europe, Lemieux announced that he was going to return to Canada. Team officials assumed that he was injured but they said privately that he was homesick.

Eagleson and coach Doug Carpenter then took a calculated psychological gamble. They first told Lemieux that he was a "poison" to the team and should leave. Then they told him that, unfortunately, he could not because all the fights out were booked. Days later, following a first-round 4-2 loss to the United States, Lemieux suddenly grabbed Eagleson by the arm and announced that he had decided to stay. And that made a major difference to the team's fortunes. Lemieux led Canadian scorers with four goals and six assists. Sitting once in the dressing room after the first game, Lemieux reflected, "Now I feel pretty good. Of course I would come here again."

Indeed, the Canadian performance in Prague did so much for Canadian international hockey as it did for Lemieux, Riggin and their previously underbelly teammates. On May Day, as the Sovietist nations of the world celebrated their



Carpenter: a psychological gambler

labors, Team Canada defeated the Soviets to the deafening cheers of "Go Canada Go!" from their Czech hosts. And for each of Canada's games a seat behind the team's bench was reserved for Pavel Rybicki, the 38-year-old Prague rink attendant assaulted last November by a Canadian junior player, Alain Chatelin, who had been drinking heavily. In an unpublicized gesture Eagleson sent Rybicki, attended in one eye in the attack, a Team Canada jacket and five tickets. Unfortunately, Rybicki was ill and unable to attend.

In the end, it was more than lead guitars and goals for and against. Canada's way, truly, is international play—the Czechs and Soviets—learned that a year's preparation can be matched in weeks by a group of amateurs suddenly thrown together. And there was clearly a newfound pride acquired by the players under the deft leadership of Carpenter, the 42-year-old coach of the NHL's New Jersey Devils. It was his encouragement of the young men to believe in themselves and his sharpened game plans that led to the Sovietist worst world championship finish since 1977 and a bronze medal and Canada's best in 28 years. Said Eagleson, uncharacteristically lost for hyperbole: "It wasn't as great as it might have been. But what the hell, it was all right." □

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The underground railroad to Canada

By Ann Finnegan

Ann Martinez, a 30-year-old Salvadoran refugee, applied for asylum in Canada at a border immigration hearing in June, 1983, before senior immigration officer Michele Lubarsky. She asked Martinez why she had fled El Salvador.

Q You stated that you are afraid to return to El Salvador because of your political and social affiliations. Would you explain to me what has happened and why you have come to Canada, and explain your fears.

A I was pregnant and they killed the father of the baby.

Q Who killed the father of the baby?

A An organization called the White Hand, or the Death Squad.

Q The Death Squad told you they would kill you?

A I was when they killed him and they said to me "You will be the next one."

Q You were in the United States. Why were it that you never applied for refugee status in that country?

A Because the United States does not help refugees, just returns them to El Salvador.

The odyssey began in San Miguel, El Salvador, in May, 1982. Rosa Martinez (pseudonym) made her way through Guatemala to Mexico by sea. The day later she illegally crossed the American border at Tijuana and took a bus from San Diego to Los Angeles, where she disappeared into the city's huge community of illegal aliens. Two weeks later she had a baby. After one year of living underground Martinez had managed to save \$100 from money she earned babysitting for other people. In June, 1983, she and her infant daughter bought a \$99 ticket and boarded a Greyhound bus bound for Canada, where she applied for refugee status at the border. Friends in Los Angeles had told her that Canada would accept her. Said Martinez, who now is receiving legal immigrant status and is living in Toronto: "I knew that Canada would help and I hoped that I could be legal and work."

For Martinez—and almost 1,000 others like her last year—Canada has become the last stop in a latter-day Underground Railroad. Between 1979 and 1980 more than 80,000 Guatemalans and 350,000 Salvadorans fled their countries' U.S.-backed military regimes. Last year, according to Arthur Bolton, director of the political asylum program of the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights, a further one mil-

lion left the troubled countries. Many have simply returned the United States, where they hope to continue eluding immigration authorities. And often, with the aid of a loosely organized, semi-clandestine network of about 250 church and community groups in America and Canada, Salvadorans and Guatemalans

strive—and planning to accept more Central American refugees this year.

Traditionally, Canada and the United States have been beacons of hope for victims of political oppression in other countries. But there is a marked divergence of policy between the two countries on Central American refugees. For



Salvadoran refugee Juan Rojas with his wife and children: sanctuary in Montreal

illegally in the United States make their way to Canada.

Helping them are members of a movement that merges the medieval Christian tradition of religious sanctuary with the more modern practice of civil disobedience. One reason for doing so is the U.S. administration routinely denies most Central American requests for asylum—particularly those made by Salvadoreans and Guatemalans. By contrast Canada is studying ways of speeding up the process of granting refuge

es. One thing, Ottawa will sponsor 2,000 Latin American refugees in 1985—an increase of 500 from last year. About 2,000 of those will be Central Americans, many of them currently held in United States and Mexican detention camps. After granting official sponsorship in interviews with immigration officials those detainees will fly directly to Canada. In 1984 Ottawa spent about \$1.3 million resettling the 2,550 Latin American refugees it sponsored. Noted Tom Clark, co-director of the Toronto-

based Inter-Church Committee for Refugees, representing eight national church bodies. "The Americans are not living up to their obligations as signatories of the United Nations protocol [on refugees]. And given the official American position on these people, the Canadian government has taken a courageous stand." Added Raphael Garard, director of refugee affairs for the federal minister of employment and immigration: "The United States has done more for refugees than the rest of the world put together. This situation, I am afraid, is an anomaly."

For its part, the Reagan administration—which supports the government of Guatemalan leader Gen. Oscar Mejia Victores and Salvadoran President Jose Napoleón Duarte—insists that most of the illegal aliens from Central America are economic migrants seeking relief from the grinding poverty of the region. U.S. officials maintain that most of those people seeking refugee status cannot demonstrate the "well-founded fear of persecution" necessary to gain political asylum. As a result, last year the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) granted asylum to fewer than three per cent (338 of 12,870) of all Salvadorans and to only 81 Salvadoreans and no Guatemalans who applied for refugee status from outside the United States. This year the United States will accept 79,000 refugees in addition to the normal ceiling of 250,000 immigrants. Only 1,000 of that number, including mostly Cubans and some Nicaraguans, will come from Latin America. Although the US Human Rights Commission does not recognize Nicaragua as having a serious human rights problem, the U.S. success rate for Nicaraguans who claimed that they had fled the left-wing Sandinista regime, which the Reagan government officially condemns, was 18.5 per cent last year—596 granted and 4,283 denied. At the same time the INS deported Guatemalans and Salvadorans at the rate of 400 each month in 1984.

The Reagan administration has been investigating the sanctuary movement for more than a year. Last January the U.S. justice department indicted 16 sanctuary workers in Arizona for transporting and sheltering illegal aliens. Those indictments and the arrest of more than 60 Central Americans in several U.S. cities took place after an investigation conducted with the aid of a zero tolerance approach and sophisticated surveillance devices. Yet officials insist that the arrests were a natural part of their duties. Said INS spokesman Verne Jervis: "We have not targeted the sanctuary movement or the people involved in it. The investigation are routine."

Still, last March a Brownsville, Tex.,

court found 41-year-old Catholic lay worker Jack Elder guilty of assisting Salvadoran refugees to enter the United States illegally. Elder faces a maximum of 30 years in prison, but not on federal district Judge Freeman Va. sentenced him to 250 days in a halfway house, because he said, "I advice your mitigation." At the same time, Stacey Lynn Merrit, a 30-year-old Methodist volunteer found guilty of conspiring to take the Salvadorans to a bus station, is appealing a six-month jail sentence. Merrit was an probation for a similar offense last year.

Ministers, priests, nuns and laymen involved in the struggle to help refugees say that the arrests indicate that the sanctuary movement is angering Washington. Said Christopher Ferguson, a United Church minister in Montreal:



Guatemalans and Salvadorans in English classes in Montreal: an ideological war?

who works with several Montreal-area refugee support groups. "There is an ideological war going on in the United States." At the same time, church support for the sanctuary movement has grown—as has both sides of the border. Last month representatives from 28 Canadian and U.S. church groups, among them officials from the U.S. Catholic Conference and the Christian Task Force on Central America (see sidebar), met for the monthly departures of Salvadorans and Guatemalans from the United States and in Montreal, at the Tyndale St. George's community centre, which runs a refugee program funded jointly by the Anglican and Presbyterian churches, established links with a sanctuary church in Bur-

linton, Vt., in North. Said mission co-director Joseph Reed: "We are prepared to aid them by moving refugees at the border or at Marine Airport and to help them contact Canadian immigration officials. The situation for these people if they are deported from the United States is grim."

As a result, many illegal aliens do not risk applying for refugee status in the United States. Some of them flee across into the large Hispanic communities of California and the American southwest, while others seek refugee status through Canadian consulates in American cities. Said Windsor, Ont., lawyer Rene Voronoff: "Many of them do not know that they can apply from within the United States or they are frightened that American authorities will pick them up when they approach our consu-

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Dash and California. "It all depends on how sympathetic and knowledgeable the individual officials there are. They can sometimes be very stringent."

Those difficulties have convinced hundreds of illegal immigrants to try to go directly to Canada—either on their own or with the help of American volunteers. Ronald Garcia, for one (not his real name), who now lives in Canton, Que., went off to hiding in the Guatemalan countryside three years ago after unidentified gunmen fired at him near his home in Guatemala City. Several months later Garcia's father found him a job on an American ship where Garcia surrendered his passport to the ship's captain to forestall any attempt to enter the United States illegally.

But he jumped ship in Halifax last August. Then, after travelling to Montreal he contacted an interfaith refugee support group which helped him apply for political asylum. The next day he had landed immigrant status since December. Added Garcia: "It has been difficult for me in many ways, the language and the customs. I hope to return to see my family where the situation improves my country. But if I had remained there, now I would be dead."

Still, most Canadian support groups discourage support from entering Canada without papers. At the same time, American church workers, including

Neuschwander, make a point of working with U.S. officials—precisely because their efforts are politically sensitive. Said Neuschwander: "We do not want to create even the appearance that we are doing anything illegal."

He noted, however, that in "desperate situations" Canadians had helped American volunteers to bring undocumented refugees into Canada.

Then, once across the border the Central Americans initiate a claim for refugee status by reporting to the first customs or immigration official they encounter. Said Clark: "From the Canadian point of view, it is legally obscure. The Immigration Act does not cover this situation." Officials agree that the system is not designed to deal with prospective immigrants who simply turn up in Canada. Added Clark: "Our position is that these groups would have far fewer problems if they transacted their business through the consulate."

Refugees who report to Canadian officials have the right to a hearing, where

they can argue their case for refugee status. In 1984, 78 of the 136 Guatemalans and 103 of the 663 Salvadorans who arrived without papers at airports and border crossings received permission to stay in the country. Even those who fail to gain refugee status are still protected, as Canada stopped returning unsuccessful Salvadoran applicants to their homeland in 1985 and banned deportations to Guatemala last year. Instead, immigration officials review the cases annually, and the applicants are allowed to stay in Canada as long as the ban is in effect. Most are also allowed to work.

Many volunteers contend that the government should be soliciting more people from El Salvador and Guatemala. For his part, Ferguson also criticizes the slow pace of the system, noting that there are currently a backlog of 18,000 applicants for permanent residence in Canada—some waiting as long as five years for a decision. He and others are hopeful that federal Employment and Immigration Minister Peter MacDonell will accept the recommendations in a report prepared by Toronto rabbi W. Gunther Plaut.

MacDonell is expected to release the report later this month. For his part, Plaut noted that not separating bona fide refugees from would-be immigrants who simply wanted to stay in the country had slowed the system. Added Plaut: "The complexity really arises from our desire to be fair. It has prevented a backlog and it has created abuse. The unfortunate thing is that the real refugees get caught up in this."

Still, for the hundreds of Salvadorans and Guatemalans who await deportation in U.S. and Mexican detention camps, Canada is the last hope, according to the Mexicans' Neuschwander. He declared: "As long as the foreign policy of the United States in Central America remains as it is, Washington will refuse to respect the basic rights of the refugees. That is why the churches are prepared to challenge that policy in the United States and to act according to a higher law." For the Canadian government, accustomed to working closely with the United States on refugee relief, the challenge is more subtle. Each refugee who finds sanctuary in Canada is a quiet reminder that on this issue, at least, Canada and the United States have agreed to disagree. □



Clark: "a courageous idea"

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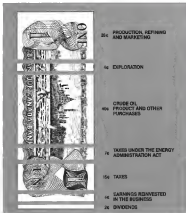


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GULF CANADA LIMITED

A tenuous and temporary haven in Texas

By Bob Levin

Across the muddy river they come, wading or swimming or even floating on old inner tubes—braving the distant turmoil of Central America to U.S. soil. Most of them are Salvadorans, and the far bank of the Rio Grande at Brownsville, Tex., is the closest U.S. point to their beleaguered homeland, a journey of roughly 1,500 km through Guatemala and eastern Mexico. From there they head up through the swamps and cornfields of the lower Rio Grande Valley, a promised land but one

not being paid to enforce the immigration law. Other observers, however, contend that it is not that simple, that the law allows for discretion. They say that the vast numbers of Mexicans who cross the border illegally do so because they have traditionally not been bothered by the border patrol—at least until after the work is done.

Still, Hayes estimates that for every illegal alien he apprehends, another two or three slip through. Some of those find their way to Casa Clara Remato, a Catholic church-turned "safe house" in San Benito which has sheltered and fed

that seek be hoped to move on to Houston, to be merged into its large Salvadoran community and "find a life." He did not know when—if ever—he would be able to see his children again.

Trapped in a wall show romped sets at Casa Remato are two departments of federal affairs, posters picturing such attractions as Niagara Falls and snow-capped peaks in British Columbia. The posters were placed there by Richard and Ruth Ann Friesen of Alamo, Tex., the church-supported couple who serve as refugees and select those who can show a clear threat of persecution if deported. Then, working with a far-flung network of Christian communities and churches, they insist there is applying for asylum in Canada. Richard Friesen said he cautions the refugees that Canada "is not heaven" and that his winters are cold. But nearly all the letters he has received from the many immigrants he helped send to Canada are "quite glowing."

The Friesens do much of their work at the U.S. immigration and naturalization service detention centre near the city town of Brownsville, where the border patrol takes many of the refugees it catches. The Brownsville facility is the largest refugee camp in the country, with room for 582 men and 85 women. clad in orange or red overalls, the refugees are housed in barracks behind two 10-foot-high barbed wire fences, closely watched by uniformed guards and monitored 24 hours a day by indoor and outdoor cameras. Some temporary workers call the centre a "concentration camp," a description that angers immigration officials. John Lowmiller, the centre's director, points out that the detainees have good food, plenty of athletic activity and a color TV in every barrack. Saul Lowmiller: "We give them the best. It is not a concentration camp just because there is a fence around it."

Few of the refugees are able to convince U.S. officials that they face anything worse than economic hardship if they are forced to go home. As a result, most are deported. The statistics say there is no evidence that deportees are persecuted back home, but critics are not convinced. "It is very difficult to get any exact statistics," says Clara Chelinsky of Texas-based Freixas Libertad, which provides legal counsel for Central American refugees in the valley. "Some people just disappear, or they are found without heads." Whether or not the deportees suffer that fate, many of them resolutely disagree. Compared to that, the perils of El Norte seem insufficiently daunting to stomach the steady stream of refugees.



The Brownsville detention center: a promised land that promises mostly uncertainty

that promises mostly uncertainty. They might be caught, detained and deported. Or they might find sanctuary with sympathetic churchmen, melt into some American inner city or even win asylum in far-off Canada.

In the valley, government agents is pitted against impoverished alien, civil law against religious tradition. The U.S. Border Patrol stations 15 agents to cover an 85,000-square-mile area, but over they peaked up about 9,000 non-Mexican aliens, mostly Salvadorans but also Guatemalans, Nicaraguans and Hondurans. Critics charge that the patrol has harassed Central Americans mercilessly, turning the area into a "war zone." But Southwest Bayou, the sector's chief patrol agent, maintains that his policies are no tougher than those of other regions. Added Hayes: "I

mean that 3,000 refugees since it opened in 1982. Despite the recent revelation of its director, 41-year-old Jack Elder, for illegally transporting Salvadorans, no authorities have ever raided Casa Remato. Last month the two-bedroom house overflowed with more than 20 refugees who played soccer, watched television, made tortillas or just lounged around. Among them was a 26-year-old Salvadoran who said that he had deserted his country's army because he refused to kill civilians and, after being sent for three years, was jailed and tortured by government forces. He said that when they finally released him, "I decided I could not live these things anymore." He and his wife left these three children with relatives, fearing that they would be endangered as the journey north, and made most of the trip by bus. He said



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LAW

The criminally young

Two of the boys are 9, the other is 10, and all had run ahead of the law before police caught them breaking into a church hall in Halifax last month. But the officers sent them home with nothing more than a reprimand. In Toronto police declined to charge three 11-year-old boys who sexually assaulted another child last month. And although Prince George, B.C., police strongly suspect an 11-year-old boy set fire to a \$160,000 service station recently, they do not plan to even question him. The reason for the reluctance by all three forces to take action under the new federal Young Offenders Act, all children younger than 12 are immune from criminal conviction. By contrast, the Juvenile Delinquents Act, which the new legislation replaced, a year ago last month, allowed the prosecution of children as young as 7. Said Toronto Police Chief Jack Marks, whose force has documented 300 similar crimes this year by children under 12. "We cannot do anything except take these kids home."

Marks added that the legislation has created dangerous opportunities for the



Marks: alarm over proven criminals

few hardened youths who, he says, are maturing faster than they once did. At the same time, police throughout the country have voiced opposition to the new law's latest provision, which departs from the Juvenile Delinquents Act by classifying persons aged 16 and 17 as youths and restricting the maximum penalty for any crime they might commit to three years. Police experts say that both aspects of the new law undermine its basic intent, which is to make youths more accountable for their crimes. Declared Marks: "I firmly believe that once a person is beyond the age of 16 he should certainly know right from wrong and be responsible for his actions."

Even more disturbing, police say, is the possibility that adult criminals, whom some officers call "Fayras" after the Dickens character in Oliver Twist, will increasingly use children under 12 to commit crimes on their behalf. Indeed, the practice already exists in at least one major city—Vancouver—according to Const. John Kidd of the city's police force. He said that the problem of abducting rings is long-standing. He added that police have uncovered several cases of young people, usually over 12, shoplifting for older youths or even adults. Elsewhere the practice is less visible, but most police forces are preparing for its resurgence. "We're expecting it," said Const. Wallace Rosen of the



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AIR CANADA

Bloodstained escapades

THE SPECIALIST REVELATIONS
OF A COUNTERTERRORIST

By Gayle Rivers
(Dutton, \$17.95, 288 pp.)

FROM Northern Ireland and Lebanon to the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa and the Toronto subway

system, terrorism has become a pervasive threat in the modern world. All too frequently, accidental or religious fanaticism bring citizens and governments to a standstill with a bomb, or merely the threat of one. But according to author Gayle Rivers, there is a defence against that growing menace: a terrorist's in-

ferior. Rivers is the paradox of a man of unexpected age and maturity who says that for about the past 30 years he has been a contract killer for governments combating terrorism. In *The Specialist, Revelations of a Counterterrorist*, he describes in harrowing detail the numerous retaliatory and pre-emptive assassinations he has apparently staged for the United States, Britain, Iraq, Egypt and Spain. What not engaged in killing, Rivers is an arms salesman and weapons instructor to less than democratic Third World governments anxious to learn the most efficient way to dispose of their enemies.

Rivers says that he developed his deadly skills while serving with an Australian-New Zealand Special Forces unit in Vietnam, the South African Air Force and a reserve unit of Britain's Special Air Service. In addition to knowing how to operate jets and helicopters, he is a first-class marksman and explosives expert. He charges dearly for his services, but governments line up to employ him. In Lebanon, U.S. intelligence officers paid him a \$10,000 initial retainer, on an unspecified fee to capture a Syrian major directing Druse militia in their attacks against the U.S. Marines. The most successful escapades read like the bloodstained passages of a magazine for would-be mercenaries. But not all Rivers's operations have been successful. After he led an Iraqi special forces raid into Iran, his team found itself surrounded by tanks, and Rivers had to half run, half drag the surviving Iraqis back to safety.

Rivers's account appears to be authentic but it lacks hard evidence to substantiate his claims. Instead, it is filled with boasting, painting its author as a cynical and moralless mercenary. Rivers's ethical code is simple: "One I certainly I am not indirectly serving communism or terrorism." As well, he proudly claims that he will not carry out an operation against the British monarchy. Writes Rivers: "For me, the Queen symbolizes a set of standards and a sense of honor and military tradition that I have built up over the years."

But Rivers does not explain the higher morality of saving a living by killing with our bombs or delivering Iraqi terrorists into the hands of the Iraqi government's alleged torturers. Terrorism is dirty business, but some of its practitioners genuinely believe in a cause or in self-determination for their people. Rivers's value system is founded on killing for profit, and all his statements about serving the Queen are undermined by squads of mercenaries in black suits and the deaths of innocent bystanders. The fact that governments pay well for his murders suggests that morality is rampant—and not just in terrorist cells. —J.L. GUARANTY



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An overflow of champagne

QUEENIE
By Michael Korda
(General Publishing, 600 pages, \$24.95)

Of all writers, publishing powerhouse Michael Korda should be able to come up with a surefire formula for schlock literature. Editor in chief of Simon and Schuster, author of such best-selling best sellers as *Charm School* and *Power* and the popular novel *Wildly Girls*, Korda represents a successful but somewhat odd side of publishing that has gained the upper hand in the past decade. In his latest novel, *Queenie*, all the components of high-quality trash seem to be in place. Apparently he used as the life of actress Marie Oberon, Korda's aunt by marriage, the long-winded saga of the story of a beautiful and famous actress with a deep, dark secret. The secret is one that would hardly cause a ripple today. *Queenie* is a half-caste from India trying to pass herself off as an exotic Western beauty.

In her early years in California, *Queenie* lives a facile existence, shunned by both white and Indian society. But her remarkable face and body are destined to take her to the top. She escapes to London, where she becomes an exotic dancer and, by marrying well and marrying the right camera, makes money to superlatives. Eventually, *Queenie* finds her life in Beverly Hills, where she has an oil-gang dealer for bedroom and a newspaper dwarfed before the ups to live the rest of her life in dignified but pained obscurity.

In telling the story of *Queenie*, Korda leaves few cliffs unscrambled. The diamonds are hard, cold and shiny, the caviar is thick and rich, the men are ruthless, and love is everything. There is also much too much champagne. These backstage details fall to the tangy, overdone epic of the page. Another problem is the relentless banality of the characters. Korda's idea of a meaningful declaration from *Queenie* is "I'd love to have long hair. They'd look nice, don't you think?"

Korda appears to have forgotten the laws of quality governing even that kind of literature. Good trash is fast-paced, sexy, compelling and filled with details which transport a reader into another world. It may be a world in which he is embarrassed to be seen during daylight hours, but it is still a world he wants to visit. Bad trash, on the other hand, is simply boring. Through Korda's indifference, inexperience or excess of cynicism, *Queenie* has fallen helplessly into the second category. —RICHARD THOMAS

"Peter," I said,
"How come your hair looks so healthy?"
"Tegrin Medicated Dandruff Shampoo,"
he replied to my amazement.



1. Meg: "Tegrin Medicated Dandruff Shampoo." Isn't that just for problem dandruff?
Peter: "If you want healthy looking hair — you have to start by getting hair and scalp really clean."



2. Peter: "When I shower I use Tegrin regularly to do a thorough cleaning job. Meg: And your chin, healthy-looking hair is proof that Tegrin helps control dandruff."



3. Peter: Right. And Tegrin also helps control that itchy scalp that used to annoy me.
Meg: Again, it shows Tegrin gets your scalp really clean.



4. Meg: "I'm going to give Tegrin Medicated Dandruff Shampoo a try myself."
Peter: "You should try the herbal scent. Works just as hard as regular Tegrin to get your hair and scalp really clean."

MUSIC

A new prairie star in cowboy boots

By David Hayes

Kid Lang is a cyclone of kinetic energy, leaping and jostlebugging across the stage. Dressed in a garish, square-shouldered shirt and oversized cowboy boots, he is the 20-year-old singer from Edmonton, Alberta, who has become a sensation in the past few weeks. He is the first Canadian to be named "New Artist of the Year" by the *Rolling Stone* magazine.

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Lang leaping and jostlebugging his way to musical fame

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Cohen in Toronto following his recent tour of Poland's Solidarity movement

The return of a spiritual man

Throughout his 17 years of serious music-making, Leonard Cohen has remained a powerful artist with an unusually eclectic appeal. Arriving in Poland last month, the Canadian songwriter and poet said he was shocked to discover that the Solidarity movement closely identified with his music and poetry. The Canadian lyricist said he was invited to invite his leader, Lech Walesa, who was awarded the city of Gdańsk, to his Warsaw concert. Afraid of angering the Communists, Cohen's band members did not learn the invitation. But the invitation was a strong testament to the spiritual appeal of his music. This week Cohen will test his popularity on the other side of the Atlantic with a new album, Various Positions, and his first North American tour in 10 years, taking him to New York's Carnegie Hall, Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. But the Montreal artist is aware of the current nature of his popularity and the contradictions of his career. Said Cohen, "The literary establishment is reluctant to take me seriously because I am a poet, and the musical establishment thinks I don't really cook."

Even at the height of his fame Cohen was never a mainstream talent. When such songs as *Suzanne* and *So Low*, *Marianne* hit the pop charts in the late 1960s, it was his idiosyncratic musical style—a melancholic monotone set to simple folk melodies—that won him an appreciative audience. During that time, Cohen also developed a reputation

as a notorious ladies' man. But despite its provocative title, *Various Positions* emphasizes spiritual rather than erotic concerns, and features Cohen's unique blend of prayer and love song. At 40, he still conveys a sense of purpose at a time when much of pop music is decidedly carefree. Said Cohen, "We are in a period when nobody wants to look inside at all. The notion of frivolity and distraction is very powerful these days."

With 360,000 copies of *Various Positions* already sold in Europe since its release three months ago and tour dates set for Japan and Australia, the enduring appeal and relevance of Cohen's work is clear. As well, in the five years it took to produce the new album he has demonstrated a remarkable creative productivity. Last year he published a collection of poetry, *Book of Meru*, and completed a half-hour video, *I Am a Hotel*. The video, in which Cohen's songs were choreographed by Ann Dreyfus, has won numerous international awards. More recently, he wrote the screenplay and lyrics for Levan Kary's musical film *Angel Eyes*, which stars Nicole Leeder and Nick Mancuso. The film will receive its world premiere at this month's Cannes film festival. Unlike such veteran makers as Mick Jagger, who sticks in middle age to keep pace with changing trends, Cohen has been content to pursue his craft at his own speed. While most folk songs and folk songs remain so resistant to exploring the depths of his worldly experience.

—NORMAN SWERD

DANCE

A festival of flamboyance

In between years since its opening the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris has emerged as Europe's leading showcase for contemporary arts. And through the aggressive marketing of Adrienne Clarkson, Ontario's agent general in France, the centre recently hosted a 10-day salute to four of the province's dance companies. The Parisian press gave the festival, which ended last week, prime billing as a cultural attraction. As well, audiences responded warmly to the modern, complex danceworks of the Susan Macpherson Dance Collective, the Dancé Gosselin Dance Company and Dancemaison Dance Theatre. Declared Clarkson: "You realize that Ontario isn't all business and taxes."

The companies that participated were chosen for their innovation and flamboyance. Robert Desrosiers presented a dazzling array of surrealistic imagery, including a dancer playing an accordion while twirling a life-size cow in the air. Macpherson, dressed in sage and a blindfold, dragged two men behind her in the moving *Non Composé*. In *No-body's Business*, Gosselin provided a study of a gay bar while the Dancemaison program included *Ships Will Be Men*, a witty shouting match. Said Gosselin, "I was excited to be performing at the centre. Paris is like New York, with many companies competing for an audience."

When she first took up the Paris post in May, 1989, Clarkson immediately targeted modern dance as the art form that could be most easily marketed in France. The cost of the festival was \$172,000, with the centre providing approximately \$14,000 and the Ontario and federal governments splitting the remainder. For her part, Clarkson said that there was never any substantial risk. She added, "There is an almost unlimited audience for modern dance here. And I know that our colleagues are as good as theirs, if not better."

The Parisian exposure provided immediate benefits for at least one of the companies. Barbara Seals, Susan Macpherson's agent, said that the Pompidou Centre booking helped her to secure spring engagements for the dancer in London, Munich and Berlin. At a time when there is tension between governments and the arts, the festival was an unusually harmonious collaboration.

—ANNE THORNTON in Paris

FILMS

Happiness is a warm gun

STICK

Directed by Bert Roybold

There is little that distinguishes *Stick* from a standard action movie or television. It simply has bigger stars, more violence and a wider array of eccentric villains. After seven years in prison for armed robbery, *Stick* (Bert Roybold) returns to Florida to avenge an old friend as he delves into money for a drug deal. The friend is ground down, and *Stick* escapes, vowing vengeance on the man responsible, an infamous drug addict named Chucky (Charles Durning). From that point, the movie becomes an extended cliché. Like most ex-convicts on screen, *Stick* wants to stay clean. He has a daughter whose he loves and he meets a brave, beautiful woman, Kyle (Candice Bergen), who truly understands him. For variety, there is a moral advice bookie (Dale Robertson). True to formula, the action leads to a bloodbath.

The plot of *Stick* is muddled and maddening. *Stick* becomes a chaotic free-for-all (George Segal), a million-

aire who associates with criminals, to get close to Nestor (Candice Bergen), king of the underworld. Much of the action has little purpose other than providing Roybold, who was also the film's director, with an opportunity to display his many moods. That cinematic approach has yielded a number of impressive close-ups of the hero as he outpaces murder or does his putative. Meanwhile, the movie is riddled with unlikely details. *Stick* refuses to carry a weapon, although he remains in full view of the violent and lawless thugs who want to kill him. The movie carries the message that once a good man goes eventually he won't be a saint.

Stick, which promotes the idea that possessions are less dispensable than life itself, is tedious and unconvincingly popular. During its mildly amusing, and Bergen is definitely gorgeous. But it is Segal who has the film's best line as he turns to his audience and says, "It's not over because there is no place like a 33-million home." No other line in *Stick* carries as much conviction.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *Il Tossatore* Camus, Sheldon (2)
- 2 *Thinner*, Dickson (2)
- 3 *Inside Outside*, Noyl (2)
- 4 *Family Album*, Stief (2)
- 5 *Black Lake*, Moore (2)
- 6 *The Lonely Silver Rain*, Shofman (2)
- 7 *The Book Man*, Greene
- 8 *So long, and thanks for all the fish*, Adams (2)
- 9 *Our Lady of the Snows*, Callaghan
- 10 *Virgin and Martyr*, Greeley (2)

Nonfiction

- 1 *Incense*, Jacobs with Noyl (2)
- 2 *Breaking with Memory*, Sternfeld (2)
- 3 *The Candidate*, Malachuk (2)
- 4 *What They Don't Teach You at Harvard Business School*, McGinnis (2)
- 5 *Dr. Abramowitz's Daily Program*, Abramowitz and King (2)
- 6 *The Report*, Bisset (2)
- 7 *Officer Haden*, Dorman (2)
- 8 *A Prisoner for Excellence*, Perry and Austin
- 9 *Royal Secrets*, Barry (2)
- 10 *The Promised Land*, Dorman (2)

(1) Fiction list week

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Racing backward into the 1940s

By Allan Fotheringham

The voters of Ontario, you must understand, are not voters like any others. They move like Judge Cassin in their passion. Careful in their moods. Sometimes even asked full. And why he was so blind. "Because it works," he replied. Ontario is writ large, a large lump of conservatism that views with some wonder the experimental things going on in more restorative provinces. It was the Progressives that insisted the reform parties be called Ontario Farmers leading him to alien Ottawa

David could have helped the party since started by judging his support to a modern urban man like Ray McMurtry or even Larry Grossman. Instead, he remained ostensibly aloof, which meant that the reactionary wing of the party, rural-based, would pick Miller. (McMurtry was so unswayed by the prospect of serving under Miller that he took early retirement in London as Brian Mulroney's Ambassador of the Irish Mafia.) Owen announced extended financing for separate schools (i.e. Roman Catholic) education—and then, without warning, leaving Miller to reap the

Unknowing, I delivered my usual audited distributive about the Ottawa Trade, the Liberal party in general and associated bandits.

This so inflamed the man assigned to chair me (who turned out to be the Liberal constitutional president) that, instead, he spent 15 minutes watching your beamed speaker until the points started to throw him at him. The evening ended in shouts and bannings, half the audience sitting with the red-faced Grit, the other half applauding Peterson loved the whole thing, though it rather confused his beautiful wife, Shelley, who didn't know at the time that journalists don't take life as seriously as politicians do. She is an actress, which is fitting since all politicians, her husband being one on the rise, must be actors to succeed. (See Clark and John Turner are evidence of that truth.)

Peterson is at one with modern Ontario, making great gains with his call for such a simple thing as beer and wine in the corner grocery store. It played well against the Tories, who are the party of movie censorship, the party that made the Toronto Blue Jays the last club in the major leagues allowed to sell beer, the party that maintained a hyper code as against that you still have to go to a separate store to buy your beer.

Miller, the man of the 1940s, refused to debate Peterson and the NDP's raggedly-tongued Bob Rae on television. He refused Norm Adams, the most hated backroom operator in Canadian politics, who says there are three things needed for an organization to win an election: "The first is friends. The second is friends. The third is policy." Miller refused him with Pat Kinney, who is all members, figures, computers and polls. That got him a minority government, all of which he deserved.

The Ontario voters are now poised on the brink, staring across at that awesome chasm of change. Do they dare it? Have they the courage? It's a terrible thing, to do something you haven't done in 50 years. We all sit in suspense to see if Ontario Boobles, the last constitutional conservatism in the land, can make the big move.



overlooked. The Liberals already had all the Ontario immigrant Catholic vote. Miller could face only the anti-Catholic backlash. This is Orange Lodge Ontario, remember, where they still—15 years away from the year 2000—have King Billy parades. David by his "objectivity" invited Miller on Ontario voters and then lashed out at Miller his legacy. David Peterson was the grateful recipient.

A few years back your blushing agent was asked to get on his hind legs and give a speech in London, Ont., that beleaguered bastion of insurance companies and Holiday Inns. Unwilling, an assistant was transmitted, mainly because I had never seen that strange medieval robot and was curious about the elements that make up the mad-set of the southwest Ontario debate. Unfortunately, the specifications of the spokesman were unclear to me until, on arriving, it turned out to be the annual food-training dinner for new Liberal Leader Peterson, a chap I had never met

even ago. The Regina Manifesto created the first federal socialist party and Regina later provided the first socialist provincial government. The three-humped camel called Social Credit was spawned in Alberta and spilled into British Columbia, where it still breathes, if feebly. Quebec was first with separation and social democracy and even Farley Mowat, if you can believe the twists of U.S. immigration, has a Newfoundland Revolutionary Party—armed with one rifle. None of it teaches Ontario, which could never be mistaken as the land of the rose and the home of the spire.

Ontario voters came to the brink last week—but couldn't face the prospect. The threat of change was too much. The longest-reigning government in Christendom was confirmed—not because it was any good but because the alternative didn't have much chance. Here were the Tories of the 1940s led by a man out of the 1940s. They were ripe for the picking, snug and arrogant as any party that has been in power 40-odd years is bound to get. The good bargains of rural Ontario, who control the party and who decided that the smoke-breathing Frank Miller would be the new leader, managed to fight off Toronto, which clearly was ready for something new.

No one much mentioned it at the time, but when Bill Miller's Billy Dora stepped down he left a scorched-earth victory march. The one Pierre Trudeau laid down for the doomed John Turner. Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.



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